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## SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

### March-April 1948

W. I. THOMAS (1863-1947)\*

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

William Isaac Thomas was born in a rural county of Virginia on August 13, 1863. He was a student at the University of Tennessee, receiving the bachelor's degree in 1884, and was an instructor in English and modern languages at that institution for four years, after which he spent a year in Germany at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen. In 1889 he became professor of English at Oberlin College, where he remained for six years. In 1896 he received his doctor's degree in sociology at the University of Chicago, was appointed instructor in 1897, and advanced through the academic ranks to professor from 1910 to 1918. He was also lecturer in the New School for Social Research from 1923 to 1928, and at Harvard University for the academic year of 1936-37. He was in charge of the Helen Culver fund for the study of race psychology from 1908 to 1918. He was a member of the American Academy of the Arts and Sciences and was president of the American Sociological Society in 1927. He wrote the following books: *Sex and Society*, 1907; *Social Origins*, 1909; *Standpoint for Race Psychology*, 1912; an important chapter in a cooperative volume: *Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education*, 1914; *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (with Znaniecki, 1918-21); *The Unadjusted Girl*, 1923; *The Child in America*, 1928; *Primitive Behavior*, 1936.

The above facts, taken from the sketch he wrote for *Who's Who in America*, show that his activities were entirely in the field of teaching and scholarly production. There was one more book on which he had been working for years, about which he spoke to me when he and Mrs. Thomas were week-end guests at my home during his last visit to Chicago. It was to be a book on the Jew, a subject which rarely receives objective treatment. He had been disappointed at the refusal of the editors of the New York Yiddish paper *Forward* to allow him access to the files for the purpose of gathering material. He referred to this refusal without resentment,

\* This and the two following articles constitute a group of three reports given at a memorial meeting by the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago in December 1947.

understanding the real reasons for the action. But had he lived to complete that book he would probably have started work on another one, and it would have been coincidental had his life and his book been finished at the same time. He died on December 5, 1947, in the eighty-fifth year of his life.

Thomas was not one of the founders of American sociology. He belonged to the second generation, but of these he was almost the first born. The founding fathers — men like Ward, Sumner, Small, and Giddings—had to dig the foundations; it was the more congenial task of Thomas and his contemporaries to hew the stones and lay them on the walls of the structure.

These first American sociologists had written philosophical tomes and made extravagant claims which aroused no little resentment in their colleagues and which were toned down in the course of time, from the claim that sociology was the queen of the sciences to the admission that it was only one of the younger sisters.

When Thomas began his productive work, it was apparent that it was no longer profitable to continue the logomachies by making more and more abstract generalizations taking issue with the generalizations of others. The need now was for a program of empirical investigation of the concrete facts of human life, in the expectation that synthesis and generalization, when they did appear, would be more firmly grounded. The facts were not to be mere collections like those of the ant, but organized into a creative structure, following the example of the bee, as Bacon had advised.

*Sex and Society*, his first book, was based on a soon-to-be discredited theory and was promptly forgotten, but two years later *Social Origins* was published. And this was a notable contribution, providing at an opportune time a satisfying answer to an important and insistent question. The theory of specific human instincts which had held the field for thirty years had broken down, and John Dewey had eventually given it the *coup de grace*, showing that, instead of the instincts giving rise to the institutions of society, the opposite is true, and that it is the institutions which give rise to whatever we like to call instincts. The army makes soldiers, the Methodist church makes Methodists, Mohammedanism creates Mohammedans, morals arise from customs that are non-moral and art from activities that are not-art.

At this point the bright student on the second row raises his hand to ask, "If the institutions of men produce our so-called instincts, what causes the institutions?" The point is well taken and the question is in order. The



answer was in the book on *Social Origins*. Relying on historical documents and accounts of the life of aboriginal tribes, Thomas explored the origin of Morals, of Art, the Family, Religion, the State, and the rest. It was not possible to find accurate conclusions concerning the ultimate origin of all or even most of these, but it became clear that the answers could be found if only we had access to all the facts we desired. It was less important to find the exact origin of one or the other institution than to realize that such a beginning did exist and that much of the development can be traced.

When I succeeded to the chair that Thomas had occupied, one of the courses I continued was this one on Social Origins, and it was largely attended for the whole of my twenty years. I know of no better way to break through the provincialism and ethnocentric narrowness of the undergraduate student than to expose him to this material. A detached, objective, unemotional, scientific attitude is essential for the successful study of human behavior, and Thomas did much to bring this about.

Thomas' main interest was in racial psychology, and few men anywhere had a wider knowledge of the literature or a more adequate understanding of the subject, but I shall speak of his contributions to social psychology, my own field of concentration. His work was vastly different from the older orthodox systems of psychology, though the avowed objects were the same.

For years orthodox psychologists were concerned with relating human consciousness to particular elements and segments of the nervous system. They even sent us into the medical school to dissect the brains of dog, fish, sheep, and man, but the results were not very rewarding. The brain of my subject, an unclaimed pauper, was essentially like that of a captain of industry, so far as our microscopes could reveal. Moreover, the discussions of the conscious life seemed almost to be confined to a description of the average normal civilized adult considered as a mechanized organism, and the effects of social contacts were treated with a fine disregard, as if all men were as Melchizedek—without beginning of days or end of life.

Social psychology, in which field Thomas was indeed a pioneer, sought, on the other hand, for the answer to the question of why some men conform and others rebel; they were interested in why some boys go wrong and some girls go astray.

Thomas gathered, during the course of his life work, personal documents, life histories, and intimate family letters by the tens of thousands, and from the classification and analysis of these he was able to make lasting contributions to the understanding of human nature. He did make some false starts, as when he tried to form a theory of personality on the basis

that all activities could be interpreted as expressions of sex or the food impulse, but this was abandoned for something better.

Our debt to him is greatest for his work in the *Polish Peasant*. Dr. Znaniecki, the co-author, will tell of some of the chief contributions of that monument of American sociology. I limit myself to one, the theory of social attitudes.

After showing that the old problem of the relation of the individual to society is no problem at all, that society and the individual are but different facets of an indivisible whole—like the musician and the orchestra—the concept of social attitudes is set forth as a tendency toward a generalized mode of action, never an individual affair, since every attitude is toward what Thomas called a social value. Not only are our attitudes formed in the give-and-take of social life but our objects also appear in our lives, one by one like stars in an evening sky.

The graduate course on Social Attitudes, which I inherited also from Thomas, was given throughout my score of years in the department. It was very profitable to me and my debt to Thomas is very great. Thomas did not coin the word *attitude*, nor was he the first to speak of the attitude of a man toward an object. The words came out of the vernacular, but it is my opinion that it is to him we owe the scientific concept of social attitudes which has been found in my own experience to be of the greatest value. By taking the concrete act as the unit of human conduct and by assuming that attitudes and objects are twin born as a result of the way the act is defined in retrospect, it has been possible to form a conceptual scheme of human nature which promises greater control over our problems than we have had hitherto.

But the concept of social attitudes proved also to be highly practical when, through the labors of Thurstone, Stouffer, and their co-workers, it was found that attitudes can be measured and the measurements proved accurate by statistical methods. And this is true both of individuals and of groups. Sociologists were enlisted as such during the war, and their services in the field of attitude measurement produced astonishingly successful results.

It became possible for a sociologist to go to a training camp and to discover the extent of a certain prejudice or the state of morale in a given unit. Even more valuable was the work they did in taking means to change the attitudes or to heighten the morale. And this having been done, it was possible to measure the success of their efforts and to prove that the desired change had taken place.

This development was not foreseen by Thomas, nor did he participate in it. He had no mathematics and was allergic to statistics. But it is safe

to say that the historian of our science will record that it is to him that credit is due for the accurate setting forth of the connotation of the concept. Not that Thomas ever manifested any great desire for such credit; he laid the stones on the walls of the uncompleted structure, having in mind how incomplete it still is.

Thomas was an academic lecturer of extraordinary power to attract and hold large audiences. He lacked the brilliant wit and delightful quips of his classmate George Vincent but relied on facts and interesting concrete accounts to illustrate and enforce his presentation. I recall a lecture of his that was announced for Harper Assembly Hall, which has a capacity of some 250 seats. There was such a throng attempting to get in that it was announced that the lecture would be repeated on the following day. He gave it, almost word for word (for I heard him both times) in Mandel Hall, which seats 1,200, and persons were standing around the room. He introduced the taking of notes on small slips of paper, a device that Robert Park once declared to be an invention comparable to movable type. An industrious student traced the method through Beatrice Webb back to Walter Pater, though the insistence on *small-sized* slips may have been due to Thomas. Full use has not been made of this device, containing, as it does, important implications for aiding thought and making cooperation between fellow workers possible.

My words have been limited to the scientific work of Thomas and to only a very partial and limited mention, at that. Of his personal life others will no doubt write. I would only like to add that I knew him as a witty conversationalist, a raconteur, a valued counselor, and a sympathetic friend. And I was his friend for 38 years. I like to recall that I was his friend as one who takes the marriage vows and repeats "for better, for worse." It is good to be a friend in bright days and in dark; even better when the days are dark, for then a friend is most needed and most esteemed.

## WILLIAM I. THOMAS AS A TEACHER

ERNEST W. BURGESS

*University of Chicago*

As a first-year graduate student I entered the Department of Sociology in 1909, seventeen years after the founding of the University of Chicago. Dr. Thomas was then one of the group of outstanding scholars constituting the department. They were admiringly referred to by the students as the "Big Four."

Four more distinctive, colorful, and divergent personalities have seldom been associated in a common enterprise. Albion W. Small, the head and founder of the department and dean of the Graduate School of Literature and Arts, had the presence, authority, and literary style of the German scholar. His lectures, written in polysyllabic sociological language were delightfully, even if incongruously, interspersed with extemporary comments in colloquial American. Charles R. Henderson, a rare combination of saint and scholar, held the post of University chaplain and gave courses in social amelioration. George E. Vincent, also dean of the faculties of art, literature, and science, orator and after-dinner speaker of renown, and gifted administrator, held the students in his classes in social psychology spellbound by his eloquence and wit.

In contrast to his colleagues, William I. Thomas was at the same time sportsman, artist, and scientist. He had his daily golf game, a habit he religiously maintained until within a few months of his death. He rolled his own cigarettes from a blend of tobacco of his own choosing. In his workshop he experimented with golf balls and clubs of his own fashioning. He had a great gusto for living; enjoyed food, drink, conversation, and people.

A professor of English at Oberlin, he entered sociology with an intuitive sense for the dramatic in human experience and an unerring skill in literary expression.

Thomas was the one member of the department who was engaged in inductive research in human behavior. He had set himself the ambitious task of creating a science of social psychology which observed and interpreted the behavior of the individual in his social relationships. In his general orientation he was profoundly affected by the pragmatic philosophy of John Dewey, whose influence still pervaded the university although he had departed for Columbia five years earlier, by the social thinking of George H. Mead, also a colleague, and by the anthropological studies of Franz Boas. As students we were deeply impressed by his book just pub-

lished on *Social Origins*, dealing with the beginnings of social institutions. We were interested in the plans he was making for the study of the Polish peasant in Europe and in this country.

Thomas developed his own methods of conducting his courses. He brought into the classroom materials from his research recorded on small slips of paper. Bibliographical items were on blue slips, extracts from books and articles on yellow slips, and his own comments on white slips. His custom was to read quotations from the literature upon a given topic, supplementing these by his own inimitable comments. Students in his courses were alternately shocked and thrilled by an extract on behavior widely different from our own or by a penetrating interpretation which showed among the great diversity of human behavior a manifestation of human nature akin if not identical with our own.

Thomas presented in his courses the material in which he was currently most interested. Students who had had two or three of his courses he advised to take no more, explaining that although the titles were different, the material was the same.

All courses in sociology in the first two decades of this century were jam packed with new and perhaps subversive teaching, in the light of prevailing ideas of that period. In Dr. Small's classes the evils of capitalism were scathingly exposed, to the astonishment of students entering a university whose chief benefaction had come from the largest fortune of that time. Dr. Vincent took delight in unmasking time-honored beliefs, prevailing prejudices, and shams in high places. Dr. Henderson challenged students and the public to face unmet social needs and to alleviate human suffering.

Dr. Thomas, through his presentation of the findings of research, punctured many of the current beliefs held by the students. Although a Southerner, he was the first among the sociologists to adduce evidence that all races of mankind have the same mental endowment and that differences in intelligence are largely a matter of culture and education and not of inheritance. He marshaled facts to prove that women were of equal mental ability with men and that much of disadvantage to women arose from their isolation, often in subtle protective ways, from participation in vital experiences. At a time when certain psychologists were finding high percentages of criminals and delinquents feeble-minded, Thomas called the estimates greatly excessive—as has been proved by later investigations. He was a pioneer among sociologists in the study of sex, pointing out by convincing materials from diverse cultures that the significance of sex as human behavior inhered not in its biological or psychological manifestations but as it was socially defined in a given culture.



Of the four great men who created sociology at the University of Chicago the continuing influence in the department has been that of Small and Thomas. Of these two, that of Thomas has probably been the greater. He discovered in Robert E. Park, then working with Booker T. Washington as informal secretary at Tuskegee, a kindred sociological spirit. On his initiative Dr. Park joined the sociological staff of the University and developed in other directions the type of inductive research in which Thomas had been a pioneer. Since Thomas left the University in 1918 his successor, Ellsworth Faris, has carried forward his courses with much more specific application of the theoretical formulations of John Dewey and George H. Mead but in the same spirit of inductive inquiry and reliance upon documentary material. Today the great majority of courses in the department, whether in social psychology, social organization, social change, or social disorganization utilize in greater or less degree the conceptual system and the employment of personal documents developed by W. I. Thomas.

The record of the courses offered by Thomas at the University of Chicago as presented in the *Annual Registrar* makes interesting reading and helps to explain the vitality and originality of his teaching. It also reveals the scope and the shifts in his interests. The changes in the titles and the introduction of new courses indicate a persistent trend in his thinking to conceptualize in sociological terms materials that up to that time were still in the domain of anthropological and psychological interpretation.

In other words, Thomas very early in his career set himself the task of creating almost single-handed an inductive science of social psychology. It is perhaps significant in view of this tendency of Thomas to interpret sociologically the subject matter of human behavior, that the first course he offered at the University in the summer of 1894 was entitled *The Historical Sociologies*, "an exposition of significant classical, medieval and modern attempts to interpret social phenomenon; criticism of data, methods and conclusions."

The next school year, 1895-96, he was announced as an instructor in ethnic psychology, giving courses with the anthropological and psychological sounding titles of *Comparative Psychology of Human Races*, *Somatic and Psychic History of Women*, *Primitive Art and Animism*. The next year there was a slight shift in his emphasis, with the titles of the first two courses changed to *Folk Psychology* and *Sex in Folk Psychology*. The following year his stress had become definitely sociological as revealed by the titles of his courses: *The Social Psychology of Art and Amusement*,

The Social Psychology of Sex, and Primitive Social Control (formerly Folk Psychology).

By 1900 the viewpoint and organization of his teaching had become stabilized around five main courses: namely, Sociological Function of Art and Play, Origin of Social Institutions, Race Development of Mind, Sex in Social Organization, and Primitive Social Control. The names of some of these courses are changed; for example, Origin of Social Institutions becomes Social Origins and is the only course in the above group which Thomas continued to teach during his tenure at Chicago. Race Development of Mind was changed to Mental Development in the Race and was offered for the last time in 1916.

New courses appear in the *Annual Registrar* and indicate Thomas' continuing shift of interest in subject matter more than in his point of view. These are listed with the approximate years in which they were offered: Origin and Psychology of the Occupations (1902, 1906, 1909); The Negro in Africa and America (1906-07); The Mind of the Oriental (1908); Savage Childhood (1909); The Mind of the Negro (1913); The Immigrant (1910-12); The European Peasant (1913); Social Attitudes (1913-17); Psychology of Divergent Types (1914-16); Prostitution (1914-16); The European Peasant (1914-16); The Jew (1914-15); Divergent Types (1916); Races and Nationalities (1917); and Theory of Social Disorganization (1917).

An examination of the above courses discloses definite trends in Thomas' interests and theoretical orientation. He became much less concerned with ethnological subject matter and much more attracted by studies of the Negro, the immigrant, the European peasant, and the Jew. The changes in the titles of his courses indicate the shift of his interest from social psychological interpretation of concrete materials and growing concern for an analysis of his data drawn from different areas in terms of a conceptual framework, e.g., courses in races and nationalities, social attitudes, and the theory of social disorganization. This latter trend, of course, should be viewed in relation to his parallel research on the Polish peasant in Europe and America and his interest in correlating his teaching with his current research.

In conclusion, brief reference will be made to a few of his characteristics which impressed me as a student and friend.

First of all, he was very human in having strong likes or dislikes for people and in his loyalty to his friends. He had great personal charm and evoked devotion in others. He had high standards of performance and was satisfied with nothing short of his best achievement. He directed his ener-

gies and talents to research and did not permit himself to be deflected from this goal by distractive time-consuming activities. He spoke and wrote as one with authority, but the authority was derived from data and their interpretation.

Both as man and as teacher he has left a lasting impress upon successive generations of sociology students. Recognition of his influence on his associates is the volume *Social Attitudes*, edited by Kimball Young, containing papers by his former students and by his collaborators upon research projects. Thousands of students in sociology courses in this and other countries who did not know him personally are indebted to him for concepts that have become common currency in sociology, such as fundamental wishes, attitudes, values, life organization, and social type. His contributions were original, creative, fertile; therefore they have become a part of the basic knowledge of social psychology and sociology.

## WILLIAM I. THOMAS AS A COLLABORATOR

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

*University of Illinois*

I first met Thomas in 1913, in Warsaw, when he visited me in the office of the Society for Protection of Emigrants. I learned that he intended to obtain concrete, factual material about the sociocultural background of various immigrant groups in the United States from Central and Eastern Europe—Poles, Russians, Rumanians, Czechs, Hungarians, Jews. Since the vast majority of these immigrants belonged to the peasant class and lower city classes, he needed primarily data about these classes, especially about the peasants with their traditional cultures and primary-group type of social organization. He visited the Polish intellectuals who had practical connections with peasants or had done some research: heads of agricultural associations, editors of newspapers or periodicals, economists, ethnologists. He collected a vast amount of published material and some monographs. I gave him some unpublished material which I had previously gathered for my study of emigration. By the end of his travels in Europe, he already had more data about the Poles than about any other ethnic group. This was largely due to the fact that during that period when Poland was still divided between Russia, Germany, and Austria, Polish intellectuals were unusually concerned about peasant problems, since they knew that the survival of the Polish nationality depended mainly on the peasants, who formed 60 per cent of the population.

During our conferences Thomas suggested that I should come to Chicago and help him translate and edit his material, perhaps collect some more material from the Poles in this country. I was very willing, not because I was particularly interested in his work, but because I wanted an academic career in philosophy, in which I had specialized since my high school days. There was no opportunity for such a career in Poland under foreign domination, and I hoped that there might be more chance in the United States.

I came here in September 1914. For nearly a year and a half I was William's assistant, while continuing my work in philosophy during my free hours. During this time we collected the family letters which constituted the main part of the first two volumes of the *Polish Peasant*, and found that a large amount of data had still to be gathered about Polish communities in this country. Thus, it became obvious that to complete an adequate study of this group would take several years. This explains why

Thomas did not continue his study of other immigrant groups at that time. Only a brief outline of their European background was published later.<sup>1</sup>

The work as originally planned was to contain mainly documentary material, with some explanations and comments. But we decided that a general historico-ethnological introduction on Polish peasant culture and social organization was needed. I offered to write this introduction under my own name. After I had written it, Thomas offered me partnership in the whole work and asked me to devote to it most of my time and thought. A year earlier I would have refused. As a philosopher trying to develop my own system, I wanted to generalize, not to become absorbed in the study of particular concrete data. Even sociology was to me then only a part of an inclusive philosophy of culture. What made me change my attitude was the fascinating influence of Thomas.

Never have I known, heard, or read about anybody with such a wide, sympathetic interest in the vast diversity of sociocultural patterns and such a genius for understanding the uniqueness of every human personality. The famous statement of Terence, "I am a man and nothing human seems alien to me," expresses an ideal which few men have ever realized as fully as Thomas.

This is what led him to his first, selective survey of anthropological literature in *Social Origins* and his later survey on a broader scale in *Primitive Behavior*. It made him start a firsthand investigation of immigrant communities, European peasants, all kinds of nonconformist personalities, and finally children. It explains his interest in sex, absurdly exaggerated and maliciously publicized in 1918.

Our collaboration was very harmonious personally and intellectually. In 1916, when I married Eileen Markley (M.A. in history, J.D. in law, and a trained secretary), Thomas enlisted her help in preparing our work for publication. Our divergent intellectual interests never conflicted. While I learned to appreciate more and more the importance of his emphasis on concrete data and empirical evidence, he appreciated my theorizing, provided it was not too abstract or difficult to understand. To him, however, theories were mere intellectual instruments, valuable in so far as they helped discover, analyze, and interpret sociopsychological phenomena. This is why in the course of his life he used several different research approaches. His concept of attitude proved most productive of all. The theory of crisis was useful heuristically, though it did not become

<sup>1</sup> R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, *Immigrant Heritages*, 1919. The main author was Thomas, but his name was omitted because he was then "in disgrace."



so popular. When I tried to synthesize—not very successfully—his theory of attitudes with my theory of values (which I had previously developed in my Polish works), he agreed, but did not find much use for the latter in his subsequent sociopsychological research. Soon after we had formulated (I believe mostly on his initiative) the theory of the four main desires which motivate individual participation in primary groups, he suddenly became interested in “the Freudian wish,” as it was called at that time by some American followers of Freud. He did not accept the *libido*, but changed our term *desire* to *wish* and applied “the four wishes” in the analysis of unadjusted personalities in a way somewhat analogous to the Freudian analysis. Later, in the *Child in America*, he apparently did not mind sharing with Dorothy some behavioristic conceptions or her use of statistical methods. In *Primitive Behavior*, the concept of “definition of the situation” was the main analytic instrument.

This certainly was not eclecticism. I should characterize it rather as creative intellectual experimentation. For he always was a creative experimenter, even in his hobbies.

I did not see Thomas between 1920 and 1931 and only occasionally corresponded with him. But I saw him quite often between 1931 and 1933, and I remember especially a meeting at Yale of the International Seminar of Rockefeller scholars on the impact of culture on personality. He presided and his ability to stimulate mutual understanding between representatives of diverse cultures was as unusual as ever.

The last letter I had from him was four years ago. He wrote that he was learning Yiddish so as to edit and publish some material that he had collected. And in a postscript he mentioned, “Yesterday I made a hole in one.”

# ATOMIC CULTURAL LAG:

## I. THE VALUE FRAME\*

HORNELL HART

Duke University

It has been widely asserted that the atomic crisis is a result of the lag of social sciences behind the accelerating evolution of physical sciences.<sup>1</sup> The following are examples of such assertions.

Dr. Sidney B. Fay, professor emeritus of history at Harvard, asserted on December 28, 1946, as retiring president of the American Historical Association: "Natural science has far outstripped social science. Our social skills have not kept pace with our technical skills . . . We have discovered how to split the atom, but not how to make sure that it will be used for the improvement and not the destruction of mankind."<sup>2</sup>

President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina said on February 6, 1946: "Social mastery lags behind scientific knowledge, and the social conscience lags behind technological power."<sup>3</sup>

Philip M. Hauser, assistant director of the Bureau of the Census, said, in August 1946: "Man's almost fantastic advances in harnessing the forces of nature can in large measure be traced to the laboratories of the physical and natural sciences. No corresponding connection can be traced between our social, economic, and political institutions and the social sciences . . . Although we have not yet managed to achieve social institutions in keeping with our present physical world, we stand at the threshold of a new physical revolution alongside which the 'industrial revolution,' as we experienced it, may well appear as a ripple on the tides of history."<sup>4</sup>

\* The first of two articles on "Atomic Cultural Lag"; the second, by the same author, will appear in the May-June issue of the *Journal*.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the statements quoted in this section, see the following: Joseph and Stewart Alsop, *Durham Morning Herald*, January 1, 1947, p. 4; Hanson W. Baldwin, *New York Times*, June 16, 1946, p. 4, col. 2; *Christian Century* editorials, August 22, 1945, p. 951, and May 8, 1946, p. 582; Thomas E. Dewey, 1947 inaugural, *Durham Morning Herald*, January 4, 1947, p. 4, col. 8; Anthony Eden, quoted by Arthur Krock, *New York Times*, November 29, 1945; Raymond B. Fosdick, *New York Times Magazine*, November 24, 1946, pp. 7 and 63; Lambert, cartoon in *Chicago Sun*, reproduced in *New York Times*, December 2, 1945, p. 2 E; Anne O'Hare McCormick, *New York Times Magazine*, September 22, 1946, p. 54; *New Republic* editorial, August 22, 1945, p. 241; *New York Herald Tribune* editorial, January 27, 1946, p. 611, col. 1; Franklin D. Roosevelt, quoted in *Ideas for Action*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Fall, 1946, p. 1, col. 1; Dorman H. Smith, cartoon, NEA Service, Inc., *Durham Sun*, February 4, 1947; Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, 1911, p. 110. Most of the foregoing refer to the atomic crisis, but some of them are general assertions of the importance of cultural lag.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, December 29, 1946, p. 12, col. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Durham Morning Herald*, February 7, 1946, p. 5, col. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 11 (1946), p. 379.

Dr. Margaret Mead, associate curator of anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, said: "Civilization has long been in an unbalanced state due to the different rates of progress in the social and physical sciences, but now that the atomic age has arrived, the situation is becoming dangerous."<sup>5</sup>

William C. Menninger, president of the American Psychiatric Association, said: "We have learned to eliminate space and to annihilate people, but we still lag far behind in learning how to get along with each other."<sup>6</sup>

William F. Ogburn and seven other members of the faculty of the University of Chicago, in a letter addressed to President Truman in September 1946, asserted: "It is because the importance of research in the social sciences has not been adequately recognized that we continue to flounder in arriving at some formula which will enable us to deal rationally with atomic energy and the atomic bomb."<sup>7</sup>

*Objections to the cultural-lag concept.* In spite of the frequency with which statements like the foregoing have been reiterated, this viewpoint is by no means universal among social thinkers. In March 1947, the present writer sent out a letter to 125 social researchers whose articles published during three previous years placed them among the top 15 per cent of factual writers in eight sociological periodicals. Each was asked: "Do you agree that the lag in social science is the crux of the Atomic-Age crisis?" Of the 60 replies which contained a specific answer to this question, 26 gave a clear-cut and more or less emphatic "yes"; 19 gave a modified "yes"; and 15 said "no."

In exploring the reasons for this disagreement, it may be well to turn to sociological discussion of the cultural-lag concept. Since Ogburn popularized the phrase in 1922, cultural lag has been the subject of at least 11 periodical articles and has been discussed in at least 23 textbooks.<sup>8</sup> Among a variety of other criticisms, two basic objections have been urged against the validity of the cultural-lag concept. The first of these will be dealt with in the present article; the second will be met in one to be published subsequently.

<sup>5</sup> *New York Herald Tribune*, June 16, 1946, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Time*, June 2, 1947, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> As paraphrased by Waldemar Kaempffert, *New York Times*, September 29, 1946, p. E 11, col. 7.

<sup>8</sup> For bibliography of articles, see Joseph Schneider, "Cultural Lag: What Is IT?" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, 1945, p. 787, and footnotes to the present chapter; textbooks referred to include practically all major sociological texts of the past two decades.

The first objection is stated as follows by Lundberg: "Frequently this phrase ('cultural lag') is used to designate merely the disparity between a given state of affairs and the beholder's notion of how things 'should' be."<sup>9</sup> Woodard states it thus: "The average example of cultural lag not merely presumes to say what progress is but presumes to tell us how much we have had, how much we ought to have had, and when."<sup>10</sup> Herman<sup>11</sup> attempts to summarize this objection of Woodard's and also those of Gilfillan,<sup>12</sup> Mumford,<sup>13</sup> and Wallis<sup>14</sup> as follows: "What adjustment is depends on the values one brings to bear on the question and not simply on overcoming the delay to mechanical change." Schneider<sup>15</sup> and Standing<sup>16</sup> also object to the value judgments which they find implicit in the cultural-lag concept.

As applied to the frequently asserted lag between technology and social science, this first major objection might be stated as follows. "Whether the alleged lag is deplorable or admirable depends entirely upon the value-frame within which it is viewed. If such a lag should result in the destruction of civilization, it is not for science to say whether such destruction is a good or a bad thing."

*The assumed frame of values.* The foregoing objection to the cultural-lag concept may be eliminated by stating, explicitly and objectively, the value frame within which the lag to be investigated is conceived. A comprehensive study of the attitudes of sociologists toward value judgments has led to the formulation of certain conclusions which seem to be practically universally accepted. Among these is the proposition that it is entirely proper, scientifically, for applied sociology, having discovered what human purposes are most fundamental, or what ones are most widely accepted as ideal, to seek and disseminate knowledge as to how these purposes may be more adequately fulfilled.<sup>17</sup>

The cultural lag between social science and physical science, asserted in quotations like those in the first section of the present chapter, is conceived within the value frame of persons who regard the maintenance or further

<sup>9</sup> George Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology*, 1939, p. 522.

<sup>10</sup> James W. Woodard, "Critical Notes on the Culture Lag Concept," *Social Forces*, Vol. 12, 1933, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Abbott P. Herman, "An Answer to Criticisms of the Lag Concept," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 43, 1937, pp. 440-51.

<sup>12</sup> S. C. Gilfillan, *The Sociology of Invention*, 1935, pp. 151-52.

<sup>13</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*.

<sup>14</sup> Wilson D. Wallis, "The Concept of Lag," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 19, 1935, p. 405.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 791.

<sup>16</sup> T. G. Standing, "A Critique of the Concept of Culture Lag," *Social Science*, 1939, p. 149.

<sup>17</sup> Hornell Hart, "Value Judgments in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, 1938, pp. 864-65.

increase of present scales of living as preferable to destruction of industries, means of communication, libraries, universities, hospitals, laboratories, family, friends, and associates, such as might decimate the population, and might make science, art, health, recreation, and other widely valued aspects of modern living impossible. The lag considered in this study involves a value frame which predicates the desirability of maintaining such values as leisure, abundance of economic resources, rich literature, music, and art, reasonable security, freedom from disease, and opportunities for scientific research.

It is not asserted that this value frame is universal. Sir Arthur Harris is quoted as having said: "I cannot doubt that if there is a war within the next quarter of a century it will certainly destroy a very great part of the civilized world and disrupt it entirely. *Perhaps after all that may be the best solution.*"<sup>18</sup> Evidence will be presented in the next section, however, showing that the assumed frame of values is very widely avowed among fairly typical representatives of the dominant American culture.

*Student evaluations of possible world futures.* In attempting to apply science to the problems of the atomic crisis, the first question to which we need a trustworthy answer is this: "What do the American people really want? What are the goals toward which our efforts should be directed?" It is of no use asking science for help unless we first know the objectives toward which the help is to be directed.

Fortunately, a rapidly growing branch of social science is well equipped to seek and find a reliable answer to this question about objectives. That branch is the subsistence of public opinion analysis. As a preliminary study toward finding out what it is that Americans wish to achieve and what it is they wish to avoid among the possible outcomes of the atomic crisis, a poll was conducted in the Duke University Summer School, in July 1947, by a team of 11 students from the author's course, Principles of Sociology.<sup>19</sup> A total of 532 usable returns were obtained, made up as follows: 324 men student veterans of World War II, 46 other men students under 21 years of age, 76 women students employed as school teachers during the winter, 45 other women students, and 41 persons connected with the Summer School, but not included in any of the preceding groups.

These students came from scores of separate states; they represented a wide variety of economic background; they included many Jews, Catholics,

<sup>18</sup> *Time*, February 3, 1947, p. 25, col. 2. Italics mine.

<sup>19</sup> The students participating were C. E. Buchanan, G. Faither Bumgardner, Caroline Donovan, W. S. Drewry, H. Lewis Michael, Jr., Helen Pyles, Carlie B. Sessoms, David K. Tally, Robert R. Taylor, John M. Thorne, and R. W. Tyndall.



and various denominations of Protestants, as well as many with no religious affiliations. They represented future businessmen, engineers, school teachers, lawyers, doctors, and housewives. They were, of course, above the average American achievement in the amount of schooling which they had had, but they may be taken as fairly typical of educated and thoughtful American young people.

The questionnaire asked the students to rate the positive and negative values of possible world futures. The instructions were as follows:

After each of the following possible futures, please place a number in Column (2) representing the percentage of evil, suffering, or disaster which you believe that future holds for mankind, and a number in Column (3) representing the percentage of good, benefit, or welfare which you believe that future holds for mankind. For each one of the possible futures, the total of Column (2) plus Column (3) should be 100, as indicated in Column (4).

<i>Type of World Future</i>	Estimated Percentages		
	Evil (2)	Good (3)	Total (4)
An ideally perfect type of world order.....	0	100	100
The worst conceivable type of world order ....	100	0	100

Between the lines "An ideally perfect..." and "The Worst conceivable...." were listed the 12 world futures.

In analyzing the returns, the percentage given under "Evil" was in each case subtracted from the percentage under "Good," thus transforming the returns into values on a scale in which + 100 represents the best conceivable world order, with all good and no evil in it, and in which—100 represents the worst conceivable world state, with all evil and no good. On such a scale, the 12 possible world futures were rated by the five groups of students covered in the poll as indicated in Table 1.

In interpreting the bearings of these returns upon the value frame for cultural lag, two basic facts need to be considered. The first is the broad general agreement between various groups as to the relative preferability of various types of world futures; the second is the significant (though relatively minor) differences established between the evaluations given by various groups.

As indicating close agreement, it is notable that all the five subgroups in Table 1 rated "world government without war" as outstandingly the most desirable outcome, and all put outcomes 10, 11, and 12 lower than

TABLE 1

EVALUATIONS OF POSSIBLE WORLD FUTURES, BY 532 STUDENTS IN  
THE DUKE UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL, JULY 1947

No.	Possible World Futures	Veterans	Other Men	Teachers	Other Women	Others +	Mean *
1	Development of a nondictatorial world government, without war.....	68	82	65	81	74	74
2	Continuation of national rivalries, without war.....	18	14	18	8	13	14
3	United States' influence increasing, without war, until we dominate the world .....	8	-4	-24	-19	-18	-11
4	Development of nondictatorial world government, but only after World War III.....	-4	-9	-26	-28	-21	-17
5	Conquest of the world by the United States and its allies .....	-3	-12	-29	-30	-29	-20
6	Re-establishment of a nationalistic, competitive, power-politics civilization after World War III .....	-33	-52	-46	-46	-52	-46
7	Communistic influence increasing, without open war, until it dominates the whole world .....	-75	-69	-58	-59	-67	-66
8	Conquest of the world by Soviet Russia .....	-75	-69	-76	-64	-69	-70
9	Economic and political collapse of all civilization, without open war, but with permanent breakdown of all railroads, factories, and large industries .....	-74	-76	-68	-79	-79	-75
10	Destruction of the entire world by an atomic explosion .....	-76	-80	-86	-96	-71	-82
11	Devastation of most, but not all, of the world by World War III, involving destruction of almost all railroads, factories, and large industries, with resulting economic chaos and political anarchy in almost all countries ..	-84	-75	-80	-94	-89	-85
12	Destruction of civilization in <i>all</i> the countries of the world by World War III .....	-89	-91	-87	-98	-94	-92
Number of returns .....		324	46	76	45	41	532

\*The unweighted arithmetic mean of the five means is used, as being more representative than the weighted mean.

† See p. 771 for definition.

any of the other nine. Not only is this true, but when the large group of veterans is divided according to their major studies, this same consistency appears in these sub-subgroups. Moreover, the consistency of the group ratings is such that not once in hundreds of such studies would the mean ratings of five hundred such students depart as much as 5.0 points from the means shown in Table 2 for "world government without war," or for "devastation, most countries."

In spite of these group consistencies, the variations between individual ratings are wide. In order to see this clearly, attention will be focused upon the eight futures for which the students saw the greatest likelihood.<sup>20</sup> These are listed (with abbreviated titles) in Table 2. The purpose of this table is to show the amount of clustering of the value judgments on each of these eight outcomes.

From Table 2 it will be seen that, in spite of the low standard deviation of the mean on "world government without war," nearly one fourth of the ratings are below 60, while over one third are 100. The ratings on items 3, 4, and 5 are nearly uniformly distributed, from -100 to +100.

TABLE 2  
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF EVALUATIONS OF EIGHT POSSIBLE  
WORLD FUTURES, BY 513\* DUKE SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENTS

Type of World Future (abbreviated)	Percentage Distribution of Returns, by Evaluating Scores							Total	Weighted Mean Rating	S. D. of Mean
	-100	-99 to -60	-59 to -20	-19 to 19	20 to 59	60 to 99	100			
No.										
1. World govern- ment without war ..	1.0	1.4	2.5	4.2	15.0	39.7	36.2	100.0	70.3	1.77
2. National rival- ries, no war .....	3.5	8.0	13.0	26.5	25.5	16.9	6.6	100.0	16.3	2.36
3. U. S. dominate without war .....	12.7	11.0	15.4	18.9	20.3	14.9	6.8	100.0	-2.4	2.74
4. World govern- ment, after war .....	17.9	13.9	13.6	18.7	13.1	17.1	3.7	100.0	-13.6	2.86
5. Conquest by the U. S. ....	16.9	14.7	14.2	17.7	17.9	13.6	3.0	100.0	-11.4	3.20
6. National rival- ries after war .....	24.8	23.1	17.2	15.7	13.5	4.7	1.0	100.0	-40.0	2.40
8. Conquest by Russia .....	46.0	31.8	11.2	5.6	3.3	1.6	.5	100.0	-72.9	1.93
11. Devastation, most countries .....	61.6	27.1	6.2	2.7	.8	1.2	.4	100.0	-86.3	1.47

\* This is the minimum number, omitting for each "future" the returns which were blank or unusable.

<sup>20</sup> As indicated in a second questionnaire.

Not only do individual evaluations vary, but there are also some notable differences between the groups. The veterans rate domination of the world by the United States without war as +8. The school teachers on the other hand rate it -24, and the other women students -19. The school teachers and other women students rate the achievement of world government *after World War III* at -26 and -28 points, respectively, while the veterans rate it only -4. The women rate conquest of the world by the United States as -29, while the veterans rate it as only -3. On the other hand, the veterans rate communistic domination of the world (without war) as 17 points worse than the women rate it. Each of the foregoing differences is statistically significant at or beyond the .01 level.

*Conclusions.* Without going into further analysis of this poll, it seems possible to conclude from it: (1) that the project of determining what outcomes the American people prefer and what ones they dread most among the possible world futures can be ascertained within very small margins of error, if a reasonable amount of effort is put into the project; and (2) that the value frame avowedly assumed in the present study, in discussing cultural lag, is widely accepted among typical young college people.

Various research problems emerge out of Atomic-Age cultural lag and its related value frames. This pilot study at Duke shows that even these intelligent college students have not thought very deeply into the question of the relative preferability of different outcomes. It is generally agreed that part of the task of sociology is to inquire into the various interactions of values so as to enable individuals and groups to attain more fully the values which they prefer in the long run. Clarification of the confused values of the Atomic Age would be in line with this agreement.

## SIMILARITY AND DISSIMILARITY AS FACTORS OF ALTRUISM\*

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Having failed to find significant factors of altruism among various somatic and psychological traits, many thinkers of the past and present have sought for them, not in this or that single somatic or psychological characteristic, but in the similarity or dissimilarity of the interacting individuals and groups. Three different theories have been advanced in this field. The first of these theories claims that similarity of individuals or groups produces a solidary or altruistic relationship. The second theory contends that on the contrary it is the opposite poles, the dissimilarity, that attracts individuals and groups toward one another and establishes friendly relationships. The third theory states the existence of two different kinds of friendship: one based on the similarity of the interacting individuals and groups, the other on their dissimilarity. One is the solidarity of similar and like-minded persons and groups; the other is due to the lack of self-sufficiency on the part of individuals or groups and to their mutual supplementation.<sup>1</sup>

When tested, each of these theories is found to be untenable. A large number of studies of pairs of friends show that the friends are similar in a number of traits and dissimilar in a number of others. Thus, in three hundred pairs of friends studied, their behavior was found to be similar in 2,962 traits and dissimilar in 1,484 traits. Eighty-eight per cent of their standards and ideals were similar, whereas only 50 per cent of their hobbies, reading habits, shopping habits, and the like were similar. This means that not all similar or dissimilar traits are equally important in generation of friendship; some are effective, some are not; some similarities lead to friendship, others to animosity. Many other studies of friends reveal no preponderance of similarities over dissimilarities as compared with similarities and dissimilarities among nonfriends.

A large number of studies of choice of marriage mates and of happy and unhappy marriages yield a similar conclusion. In countries like ours there is a slight prevalence of certain similarities among those who fall

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\* Editor's Note: This article is the second of a series of articles by Dr. Sorokin; the first appeared in the November-December, 1947, issue of *Sociology and Social Research* under the title of "Factors of Altruism and Egoism."

<sup>1</sup> For the literature, the relevant facts, and a detailed analysis, cf. my *Society, Culture, and Personality*, Chap. 4.



in love and in happy marriages: to some extent the tall attract the tall, the blond gravitate to the blond, the intelligent to the intelligent, the deaf-mute to the deaf-mute. The same is true of their similarities in nationality, religion, economic status, standards and ideals, hobbies, and other factors. However, side by side with such similarities there are many dissimilarities. The coefficients of correlation in all similarities of pairs are comparatively low, ranging from negative to positive, from zero to .5. In most cases they remain around .2 or .3, and are hence far from being significant. In addition, even the observed similarities of sweet-hearts and married couples hardly mean a specific attraction of like to like, but are ordinarily the result of unequal opportunities of the parties to meet and interact with similar and dissimilar persons. If in a given city from 67 to 76 per cent of the marriages studied are between persons living within twenty blocks of one another, the reason is not the special attraction of spatial propinquity but the greater opportunities enjoyed by neighbors to meet, fall in love, and marry as compared with the opportunities of persons remote from one another. For the same reason, among the first generation of Italian, Polish, and Finnish Americans, Italians marry preponderantly Italians, Poles marry Poles, and Finns marry Finns. When in the second and subsequent generations they increasingly meet and interact with non-Italian, non-Polish, and non-Finnish Americans, they increasingly marry persons representing other national ingredients of the American melting pot. Similarly, we note the decreasing proportion of marriages among persons belonging to the same religion: whereas in 1870 in New Haven 91.2 per cent of marriages were among persons belonging to the same religion (Jew with Jew, Catholic with Catholic, Protestant with Protestant), by 1940 this percentage had fallen to 63.6.

In countries in which so-called exogamic marriages prevail, even this external preponderance of similarities between bride and bridegroom is lacking: in law and in fact the parties must belong to different tribes, clans, families, communities, et cetera. Even in Western countries the prohibition of marriages among close relatives, within certain degrees of consanguinity, contradicts the claim that the more similar the parties, the greater the likelihood of their falling in love and marrying—that since members of the same family and other close relatives show the greatest degree of similarity, they are bound to be most strongly attracted and to show the highest percentage of intermarriage. If this were true, it would preclude even the enactment of a law prohibiting such unions.

Finally, the very fact that it is the members of *different* sexes who fall in love with each other, and not members of the *same* sex, testifies against a universal uniformity that in love and friendship like attracts like (homosexual love is confined to an insignificant percentage of human beings). For all these reasons the theory of similarity of individuals and groups as the sole basis for friendship or altruism cannot be accepted.

The fact that there is some similarity between friends, lovers, and married couples refutes the opposite theory that in friendship and love the opposite poles attract: the tall attract the short, the fat attract the thin, the intelligent the stupid, and the rich the poor, or that the religious gravitate to the atheists, and so on.

Untenable likewise is the third theory, namely, that there are two quite different forms of solidarity or friendship, one based on similarity, the other on dissimilarity. In all cases of friendship, love, and altruism there is always a certain combination of similar and dissimilar traits.

What, then, are the valid conclusions in this matter? In a summarized form they are as follows.<sup>2</sup>

1. Among the thousands of traits in respect to which persons or groups may be similar or dissimilar, not all are potent in generating either altruistic or egoistic relationships. The majority of such traits (for instance, similarity or dissimilarity in preference for Chesterfield cigarettes vs. Camels, or Beechnut chewing gum vs. Wrigley's, or brown vs. black shoes) do not exert either an altruistic or an antagonistic influence on their relationships.

2. Only those similar or dissimilar traits that are regarded as important by the parties exert such influence. If a given society ascribes a high value to racial or religious traits, then similarity in race or religion generates more friendly relationships than dissimilarity in these respects. If another society considers racial and religious traits unimportant, in such a society racial and religious similarity or dissimilarity plays a negligible role as a determinant of altruistic or egoistic relationships.<sup>3</sup>

3. Which of the traits of similarity and dissimilarity are important for given persons and groups depends not so much upon the inherent biological and physical nature of these traits as upon the system of values

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<sup>2</sup> For a corroboration and detailed analysis of these conclusions, cf. my *Society, Culture, and Personality*.

<sup>3</sup> Therefore the most effective way of reducing interracial and interreligious friction in such countries is to disseminate the ideas and attitudes of racial and religious equalitarianism. Otherwise, propaganda against such friction is doomed to failure. A great deal of the current propaganda against it maintains (explicitly or implicitly) the superiority of a certain race or religion. No wonder it has proved ineffective!

of their respective persons and groups. In the religiously minded medieval society, similarity in religion was a crucial factor; in a society of atheists it is irrelevant to the generation of friendly or antagonistic relationships. In America, in the scale of values of the Southern states racial similarity or dissimilarity occupies an important place; in the scale of values of the Russian people it is irrelevant. Hence the racial friction between the whites and the Negroes in the Southern states and its absence in Russia. In the scale of values of a loving mother her baby constitutes the most important value; therefore she loves it, even though physically and psychologically it may be as different from her as possible. Another child may be very similar to her baby; yet it does not generate the same love that her own baby does.

4. If the systems of values of the parties are similar, then an important similar trait may generate both altruistic and antagonistic relationships between the parties under the following conditions.

A. It generates solidarity: (1) When the values equally important for the interacting parties are abundant and sufficient for all; when each party can have its full share without decreasing that of the other parties. The grace of God for Christians; the national pride of patriots; the prestige of the family, party, or union for its members. All these are, for their members, virtually inexhaustible and lead to the solidarity of the members. (2) If the egos of the interacting parties are already fused together in one "we." In this oneness the more of the value a member has, the richer is the unified "we" and the greater becomes the share of every participating member. In such a condition of the "we" even a scarcity of the important value leads to solidarity of the parties. The "we" may be a good family, a labor union, a religious body, a nation, a political party, and what not.

B. An important sociocultural similarity generates antagonism of the parties: (1) When the values regarded as important by all the parties are scarce. (2) When the nature of the important value does not permit any sharing between the parties, so that only one of them can have the value, for instance, marrying a girl or boy equally desired by all the parties. (3) When the parties are not fused into one "we." (4) The antagonism of the socioculturally similar parties, due to a scarcity of the important value, may be mitigated by a "fair" and "just" distribution of the value between the parties (according to the notion of "fairness" and "justice" of the parties). In some cases this "fairness" means an arithmetically equal share for each party; in others, a "proportional" share to each party according to its merits.

5. An important sociocultural dissimilarity may generate both solidarity and antagonism between the parties with different systems of values:

A. If the values (or traits) of the parties are *quite dissimilar*, having no common ground and containing no value equally regarded as important by the parties, such values do not generate either solidarity or antagonism. The values of the other party are regarded as unimportant hobbies that provoke neither positive nor negative reaction. The same is true when some of the values of the parties are opposite but are considered unimportant and negligible.

B. When each party regards its values as important and when these values are opposite, one party denying what the other party affirms, such a dissimilarity (mixed with similarity in that all parties regard the values as important) generates antagonism between the parties. When an atheist and a believer, a communist and an anticommunist, regard their own values as important and assign a negative importance to the values of their opponents, they become antagonistic.

C. When the main values and norms of the parties are similar but their secondary values are diverse and mutually neutral, and especially when the other values are mutually supplementary, such a combination of similarity and dissimilarity facilitates the solidarity of the parties involved. Heterosexual marriage between parties having their main values as common and differing only in secondary values; a society made up of different racial or ethnic groups, each possessing its own values or traits, but all possessing a common system of values, thus constituting a multicolored united whole; a society with a well-developed social division of labor but with the main system of values common to all groups and segments—these are concrete types of such solidarity. On the other hand, if such a group is made up of persons and subgroups with discordant values and norms, each person (in marriage) or subgroup (in society) having values different from one another, such a society constitutes an antagonistic body, in which the diverse values clash, or at best a neutral body, in which persons and subgroups are indifferent to one another. Such a "unity" is exceedingly loose and may disintegrate through the slightest adversity. A society composed of a majority and a minority having no common system of values and many contradictory values cannot fail to become antagonistic. An explicit or implicit antagonism (or indifferentism) between the majority and minority becomes inevitable in such a situation. This antagonism may be mitigated through the introduction of common norms of a "fair and just" distribution (or limitation) of the

clashing values according to the principles of "live and let live," "up to this point your values are legitimate," and "from here to there is the area of my values." Such mitigation and tolerance can occur only when the parties have a common fund of values, at least in the form of a recognition of these norms of "fair play." Otherwise even this minimum of mutual tolerance, as the lowest form of solidarity, is impossible in such a society.

6. From the above it follows that the combination of a basic similarity in the main values of the parties with a supplementary diversity in their secondary values is the most conducive to solidary relationships, provided that the main values are abundant or are distributed by all the parties according to their concordant norms.

7. An opposite and diverse character of the values and norms of the parties, when they are considered important (positively or negatively) and when the parties have no common system of values and norms, is the most conducive to generating intense antagonisms. Just such a combination of the dissimilar with the similar (in that all the parties regard their own values as positively important and the opposite values as unimportant) has uniformly been the cause of the sharpest antagonisms—wars, revolutions, riots, and interpersonal crimes and conflicts.<sup>4</sup>

These conclusions indicate that, although the factors of similarity and dissimilarity play an important part in generating altruistic and egoistic relationships in interpersonal and intergroup reactions, their role is more complex than any of the three foregoing theories claims.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. my *Society, Culture, and Personality*, Chaps. 31-33.



## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TURNS A CORNER

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Community organization and control in the United States has been largely from the top down, for community organization scarcely exists among low income groups. This "from top down approach" has been efficient in raising money for charitable and patriotic purposes, putting across community projects, selling bonds, and getting votes. If and when the presidents of the Rotary Club, the Woman's Club, and the Ministerial Union have been sold on an idea, effective channels have opened to pass the idea on to the rank and file of the middle and upper income groups.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, community of interest among labor unionists has made possible dissemination of information about prices, strikes, and political candidates. But this too has been largely a filtering-down process—and achieved only after years of effort.

Except for the vote-getting technique of ward-heel politics, community organizers have largely overlooked the low income areas, especially minority groups. As a result, democratic processes have been thwarted, potential and worth-while leadership has been lost, and minority groups have continued to live as a kind of second-class citizenry.

The 600,000 Mexican Americans scattered throughout California are one of these minority groups. About 175,000 of them live in Los Angeles, and in other communities they constitute 12 to 25 per cent of the population. Sometimes considered a "problem" by well-intentioned citizen groups which like to tackle problems, they have had little done to understand them or to alleviate their needs.

It is true the *Colonia* is on the edge of town or "across the tracks." The streets are unpaved, lighting is poor, children may attend a segregated school, and Spanish is spoken. Also it is true that the channels of thought control from the dominant community organizations do not include the Mexican American. He doesn't belong to the Rotary Club! He couldn't afford it if invited, for his family income is at least 45 per cent below the

<sup>1</sup> Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937; Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947; L. H. Fisher and Joseph Weckler, *The Problem of Violence*, San Francisco: American Council on Race Relations, 1946; St. Clair Drake and H. R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945.

*minimum* American standards for health and decency. In other words, community organization from the top down has never penetrated his social immurement, and social custom has discouraged collaboration with other low income people.

Unlike the Negro minority, Mexican Americans have no NAACP, no research foundation, no mass of literature, and, therefore, little effective social group consciousness. From this disadvantaged position and without community understanding, Mexican Americans have been in a poor position to do much for themselves.

Out of the alchemy of war, however, have come surprising changes. As soldiers, Mexican American youth, who before the war were forgotten people, have learned to live and think as Americans. Others working in defense plants have felt the magic of good wages, decent clothes, adequate food, and fair employment practices. The Four Freedoms have meaning, and these people have asked, "Why should we not fight for Democracy in our own towns?"

In Pomona and San Bernardino valleys veterans, ranch hands, war workers, and railroad laborers have formed several small Unity Leagues. These organizations were truly grass roots in character and origin and anyone from grandfather to bobby-sox sister who would work in them was welcomed. Some advice and guidance was furnished by Ignacio López, a young Spanish-language newspaper editor, but the groups were strictly on their own. Each group was to tackle some neighborhood problem—better lighting, improved sanitary facilities, or street repairs—something they could understand and master. They discussed politics, and as election time approached voters were registered, and, what is more, they voted. When the ballots were counted one city had a Mexican American city councilman for the first time, and another nearly had one. Thus the importance of an organized Mexican American vote was clearly established, not only to the city fathers but to the *Colonia* as well.

Both facts were important. It gave the Unity League strength, and the politicians and public officials realized they could no longer give the brush-off to an important group of citizens.

However, the Unity Leagues' success might have been short-lived had not Fred Ross, field worker for the American Council on Race Relations, arrived in the area. Working sixteen hours a day, with a zealot's interest in the Mexican American, he expanded the Unity League idea in other areas as far south as San Diego, until a total of eight grass roots organizations were formed. Two of these became inoperative almost immediately, one was always weak, but five have achieved many of their objectives.

The Casa Blanca community after an intensive voter-education program helped to elect a Riverside city councilman, who is now working to secure bus transportation for minority children, improved street lighting, and a better recreational program. Belltown, west of Riverside, after an invigorating and enlightening struggle, got the city dump moved and got rid of its segregated school.<sup>2</sup> This led to the elimination of all segregated schools in the county. In El Modina the school authorities refused to do away with segregation even after the first court decision. However, the issue was solved by defeating one of the least cooperative members of the school board. In San Diego there have been improved relations with the police, and more recently the city schools have inaugurated an excellent course for teachers dealing with Latin-American culture. Ruth D. Tuck of Redlands, author of *Not with the Fist*,<sup>3</sup> is teaching the course.

To the uninitiated, and viewed from the top-down philosophy, the effort expended may not appear to have produced any new or sturdy technique for community organization. The significance lies in the fact that these minority people have learned the value of group organization and the magic of the ballot. Through their own effort and in areas they believed hopeless they have forced social improvements, and, in Southern California, community organization may at last be on the way to a new concept.

In organizing Mexican Americans at the grass roots level, Ross followed the principle of working from the known to the unknown through primary face-to-face contacts. In these communities the neighborhood patterns are usually well defined. The Latin-American extended family persists, and mutual aid, such as taking up a collection to assist a neighbor in time of trouble, is common. Although the neighborhood visiting pattern has been studied and used in rural areas, it was a relatively new method for studying minority urban people. The key to successful organizing was to find the person or persons, known and trusted in the neighborhood, through whom the organizer could work and about whom a group could be organized. With these key men and women the organizer discussed the problems and needs of the area, being careful merely to guide the discussions so that ideas of improvement or change were organic and developed out of the group discussion. In most cases the problems were so obvious that questions of "what to do" and "how to do it" quickly came to the fore.

<sup>2</sup> Even before the decision in the California courts.

<sup>3</sup> New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. One of the most careful and illuminating studies of a community recently published.

The heavy cloud of cynicism and apathy which enshrouds the Colonias had to be penetrated. To these isolated people the idea that they could do something to force change was in itself difficult to grasp. Most of them were not registered to vote. Hence a program of registration and voter education was paramount. The group had to count noses to sense its strength; to have an obvious, however small, problem to attack; to feel the thrill of winning a fight. Like a child learning to walk, the beginning efforts were feeble, but it learned for itself.

The voter education and action program included (1) *registration* of Mexican American and other minority voters by deputy registrars who knew their neighborhoods; (2) *many meetings* to discuss organization problems, projects, merits and demerits of candidates, agreements as to whom to support, but above all meetings to forge an organic working group; (3) *constant needling* or prodding, i.e., tactfully yet persistently seeing that persons attended meetings, that questions were answered, that assigned work was completed, that failures were discussed, that moves of the opposition were anticipated, and that the double cross of so-called friends was prevented if possible; (4) *patching up difficulties*, particularly in the early phases of organization when a little coddling or patching tactfully used by the organizer was necessary to soothe hurt feelings, to prevent defection, to cement loyalties, to reassure the doubtful; (5) "*leg work*," including telephone calls and automobile trips to get members to meetings, to get new members, to get voters to polls (much of this leg work must be repeated over and over); (6) finally *the voting election*, winning or losing a battle. Elemental? Yes, but an enlightening experience to those who have never won before.

Surely there were difficulties. Some registrars of voters made it difficult for Mexican Americans to serve as deputy registrars. Votes were challenged and voters intimidated. In one instance, the hours of voting were switched so that workers would have difficulty in getting to polls. Result—workers quit work that day, VOTED, and won!

From such experiences the nature of the difficulties, the measure of the opposition, and the methods necessary to improve conditions became slowly apparent. Community organizations do not arrive in full flower. Community organization is a process of interaction between individuals, groups, and institutions, from which there develop relationships permitting life and living conditions to be raised to the highest possible level within a given area. The idea of the *social process* must be emphasized, and this of course implies an organic development from the past. Some specific

event or personality may accelerate or retard the tempo, or change the direction, but community organization as process is a dynamic, ongoing manifestation of the community mores, and by themselves mores change slowly.

Many years ago Professor E. A. Ross stated that the function of sociology was threefold: (1) to analyze and understand society, (2) as a result of this analysis to prophesy or point out what apparently was to come, and (3) as a citizen and on the basis of a value judgment to participate in social reform, i.e., social change in a certain desired direction.

Sociologists have given much time to analysis, including studies of the foreign-born, the immigrant, and minority people. Now and then some obstreperous prophets crying aloud in our cultural wilderness have shown that the inadequacies and conflicts in our social and economic system could bring additional substandard living conditions to minority groups. The third area, often ignored by sociologists because of the value judgments involved, is the field where community organization can be used as the means of stimulating social change.

Sociologists might have more harmoniously functioning communities to study were greater and more effective participation and social control developed at the population levels where they are not weak or nonexistent. Among some Mexican American groups in Southern California the usefulness of such community organization at low income levels has been demonstrated for the first time. If the significance of this movement is recognized, then community organization may have turned a corner and effective community participation for large numbers of socially neglected people may be consummated.



## PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS

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This study was designed to discover two things: How adequately are present academic institutions meeting the needs of foreign students and what are the reactions of students to their experience in this country? It was made at the request of the Wilshire Rotary Club (Los Angeles, California) and participated in by graduate students and the Intercultural Club of the University of Southern California, International House Council of the University of California at Los Angeles, Inter-Nation Association of California Institute of Technology, City College of Los Angeles, and Pomona College. The success of the study was augmented by enlisting the organizations of foreign students, who assisted with the study and gave it status in their groups.

The chief instrument of study was a four-page questionnaire, consisting mainly of background questions, a checklist of 28 problems, a series of questions designed to discover the reactions of students to their experiences on the campus and in the community, and space for personal comments. The questionnaires were mailed to 385 bona fide foreign students, of whom 141, or 37 per cent of the total, returned them with objective data and informal comments.

The personal information asked for in the first section of the questionnaire revealed that the age mode of the group is 23 years, with 19 students in that age category. Only 26 students are older than 25 years, which corresponds closely to the total number, 29, of students with graduate standing. Ninety-nine students are males, 41 are females, and one did not state. Twelve are married, 124 are single, and 5 did not give marital status. Six of the married students have children.

The wide representation of countries is significant. Thirty-four nations are included in the group. The countries of citizenship are Canada 24, Great Britain 13, Mexico 11, India 8, Philippines 7, Austria 5, China 5, Panama 5, Brazil 4, Costa Rica 4, Iran 4, and Chile 3, with one or two representing 21 other countries. One hundred and two identified themselves as white, 16 as brown, 9 as yellow, 3 as mixed, and 1 mestizo.

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\* James A. Peterson, a graduate student in sociology at the University of Southern California, conducted the study under the general supervision of Martin H. Neumeyer.

Of the 141, 47 are enrolled in the University of Southern California, 33 in the University of California at Los Angeles, 25 in City College of Los Angeles, 20 in the California Institute of Technology, 9 in Pomona College, 2 in Pasadena City College, and 1 in East Los Angeles Junior College. The major fields of study are science 33, engineering 27, social science 17, business administration 15, languages 15, music and art 9, liberal arts 8, journalism 5, cinema 4, industrial relations 3, and 1 each in law, dentistry, and secretarial administration. Religious affiliations are as follows: Catholic 42, Protestant 34, Judaism 18, Mohammedanism 6, Agnostic 3, Hinduism 3, Gregorian 2, Greek Orthodox 2, Armenian Orthodox 1, Humanitarianism 1, Sikh 1, and 17 none, with 11 not stating.

The sources of finances include: financed by own family 83; scholarship 31; their own savings 25; and 43 had to work for all or part of their income. The sources of scholarships are University of Southern California 6, University of California at Los Angeles 3, United States Government 2, Rotary International 2, Pomona College 1, and 18 from foreign governments, foundations, business interests, universities, and special scholarship organizations.

There were twenty-eight items to be checked on the final draft of the questionnaire. Each student was asked to check one column of four for each item, indicating the degree of importance of that item as a problem for him. The four columns were "This item is *very important* to me," "This item is *important* to me," "This item is of *minor importance* to me," "This item is of *no importance* to me." The following statistical table gives the totals of items checked (not percentages) by the 141 students. The items are arranged here in order of their importance to the students.

I. What Academic Problems Have You Had?	<i>Very Important</i>	<i>Important</i>	<i>Of Minor Importance</i>	<i>Of No Importance</i>
1. Understanding lectures .....	24	15	20	68
2. Understanding textbooks .....	19	16	23	66
3. Writing reports .....	18	29	22	55
4. Giving oral reports .....	20	18	31	54
5. Using the library .....	12	14	23	69
6. Complicated registration .....	28	19	29	45
7. Inadequate counseling .....	24	25	23	45
8. Evaluation of credits .....	25	23	18	59
9. Getting acquainted with American education methods and standards .....	29	24	29	47
10. Competing with American students for grades .....	18	23	24	58
11. Examination methods .....	28	20	31	42

## II. What Economic Problems Have You Had?

1. Loss of money value through currency exchange .....	22	15	14	64
2. Inadequate funds .....	20	28	19	56
3. Inability to find housing .....	24	17	18	64
4. Housing too far from campus .....	21	13	11	72
5. Race restrictions on housing .....	8	7	13	88
6. Inadequate eating facilities .....	23	14	18	68
7. Strangeness of American food .....	5	7	25	85

## III. What Social or Personal Problems Have You Had?

1. Being accepted in a friendly group .....	13	17	21	68
2. Feeling welcome at college functions .....	8	19	26	68
3. Finding suitable "dates" .....	17	23	23	60
4. Finding adequate worship group of my own religion .....	12	5	14	88
5. Feeling slighted in social or recreational groups away from campus .....	7	8	21	83
6. Discrimination in athletics or extracurricular activities .....	6	7	20	89
7. Strangeness of American customs and laws .....	10	19	33	63
8. Finding leisure-time activities .....	14	18	20	62
9. Personal friendships with Americans .....	17	23	14	68
10. Health and hospitalization of the school .....	18	17	18	67

It is important to note that the majority of students regard these problems as of minor or of no importance to them. An average of 45 per cent stated that these problems are of no importance to them, and an additional 15 per cent stated that they are of minor importance, which means that a total of 60 per cent are getting along fairly well. This conclusion is reflected even more in the answer to the question, "If you had it to do over again, would you come to America and go to the same school?" One hundred and seven replied that they would come to this country for their education, 99 would attend a school in the same state, and 90 would attend the same school.

Although fewer students checked the first two columns than the last two, it is significant to note that all of the problems listed are of importance to some foreign students. The order of importance of problems statistically treated from the checklist is determined by adding the "very important" and "important" and contrasting the totals with the sums of checks in the last two columns. The ranking of the items on the basis of checks from the most serious to the least serious is as follows: (1) getting acquainted with American education methods and standards, (2) inadequate counseling service, (3) examination methods, (4) inadequate funds to meet school expenses, (5) writing reports, (6) complicated registration procedure, (7) loss of money through currency exchange, (8) evaluation of credits, (9) understanding lectures, (10 and 11, same rank) competing with Americans for grades and inability to find housing, (12) finding suitable dates, (13) personal friendship with Americans, (14) giving oral reports,

(15) health and hospital facilities, (16) understanding textbooks, (17) housing too far from the campus, (18) finding leisure-time activities, (19) being accepted in a friendly group, (20) strangeness of American customs and laws, (21) feeling unwelcome at college functions, (22) using the library, (23) giving oral reports, (24) finding worship group of own religion, (25) feeling slighted in social and recreational groups away from campus, (26) race restrictions in housing, (27) discrimination in athletics or extracurricular activities, and (28) strangeness of American food.

It is obvious that the chief complaints pertain to academic problems. Foreign students have difficulties in understanding lectures, in writing reports or giving oral reports, in getting acquainted with American educational standards and examination methods, in using the library, and in competing with American students for grades—all problems that are accentuated by language difficulties. Evaluation of credits and the complicated registration procedures are further worries. Most of these difficulties could be overcome by means of more adequate counseling service; but the lack of such service is ranked as second in importance of all problems. Each of these problems was underlined by a number of pointed comments by students. Here we can share only a sampling, but they serve to give life to the statistics. In regard to the language factor one student said:

I think the instructors don't realize difficulties met by a student studying in a foreign language. I think this drawback should be taken into account for the first semester grades.

That the professors are sometimes impatient with this factor is revealed in this comment:

I also found it very difficult to explain to my professors that I have difficulty in understanding their lectures, textbooks, and sometimes examination questions.

These students come prepared to spend a certain length of time and they have closely planned financial resources to meet that program. However the evaluation of their credits sometimes prolongs their stay and throws their whole schedule askew:

The biggest problem seems to be the evaluation of credits. The schools of the United States should study the educational systems of other countries and know where they stand in relation to the standards of other countries.

Some sharp criticism, but in good spirit, was leveled at some of our standards:

The more a student can copy from books in preparing written reports, the better grade obtained. A good stenographer does better than the man that can put the real meaning into his own words.

All of these problems would be eased with adequate counseling, and the comments on counseling mentioned many other factors:

Inadequate and at times incorrect counseling, due to the counselor's often knowing little more than the student. The registrar and counselor have a different idea as to what credit should be given to foreign transcripts.

My chief complaint, perhaps the only one, is the severe lack of adequate counseling for foreign students. What counseling I have received has been extremely cursory, with the counselors having no idea of a foreign student's problems.

I believe a much completer and more sincere counseling service should be available to foreign students, with counselors having a speaking knowledge of some of the major languages.

The second group of problems is economic in nature, chiefly financial and housing. The loss of money through currency exchange has affected many. Consequently some have inadequate funds to meet school expenses and they have difficulty in finding suitable employment. Only 31 of the 141 are in school on scholarships. The inability to find housing is an acute problem. It is in the comments regarding these factors that the provincialism of Americans is revealed, for much unfriendly reaction is the result of racial or color discrimination. Four quotations indicate first the exchange problem, second the work problem, and the last two the disillusionment of some foreign students with American democracy.

Employment has been hard for me to find because as an alien I am automatically disqualified from any government contracts (i.e., aircraft). Furthermore, several California employers have lost customers because they have employed me, an alien, rather than some returned veteran and consequently have asked me to leave their employ.

I worked 10 years in China before I came out the first time and spent it in 3 years. This time I worked 6½ years in China and changed \$5,070,000 Chinese currency to \$1,500 U.S. and can only last less than a year. I gave my whole life's savings to the U.S. but no one knows.

This country makes us cold and bitter and cynical and impresses us that all the talk about equality, freedom, etc., and the entire "American way of life" is a big farce; a mighty fake. Due to experiences both in and out of campus, our impression of a liberal and tolerant U.S. has completely faded. Our experiences when we went room hunting were pitiable. The people looked at us as if we were not made of flesh and blood.

One cannot examine the position of the non-Caucasoid student in the United States without coming swiftly to the conclusion that the economic and social problems cannot be treated systematically by themselves. A measure of relief can be achieved by increasing the contacts between foreign students and above-average Americans. Surely if there are any enlightened Americans they should be found in and around the Universities. We met too few of these few.

The personal and social problems pertain chiefly to the inability to find suitable dates, personal friendships with Americans, and sufficient leisure and places to go during their leisure. A rather poignant experience is summarized by one student.



The people here do not like the foreigners. They may smile in their faces but they are not ready at all to be their friends. I tried hard to get the real friendship of some Americans, both on campus and outside, but failed.

This study has located certain difficulties of foreign students and the degree of success with which the local colleges and universities are meeting the needs of this group. On the basis of unmet needs, the following recommendations are made to assist foreign students:

1. More carefully planned counseling procedures are needed. The problems mentioned by the students are amenable to solution provided the students are given proper guidance and helped at critical moments. It is chiefly a problem of making adjustments to American educational, economic, and social conditions and to American attitudes.

2. A more adequate orientation period would be helpful, including courses in English, special orientation courses, and opportunities to become adjusted more easily to the university life.

3. Financial aid to students, in the form of either scholarships or work opportunities, is necessary. Various agencies in the community can help universities in providing financial aid to students.

4. Housing ranked high in the list of problems. International houses on or near campuses where there are a sufficient number of foreign students who are in need of better housing would help greatly.

5. The need for foreign student centers is most urgent. Such centers are especially needed at our large and impersonal universities. A foreign student center should have housing units for both foreign students and a selected but limited number of American students. Medical care, counseling service, tutoring and special guidance, facilities for social and recreational activities, and other services to meet the special needs of foreign students could be concentrated in such a center. In fact, it is possible to solve most of the problems of these students through a coordinated program of services centered in such a building or in a group of housing units with an administrative and social center.

## MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH

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According to the 1940 census there were resident in the United States at that time slightly over half a million persons under 25 years of age one or both of whose parents had been born in Mexico.<sup>1</sup> Since that time the number of young people in this category has undoubtedly grown. If the children and youth of mixed Spanish and Indian background of Mexican ancestry who are one or more generations removed from Mexico were added to this number the total would be much greater.

With the exception of the relatively small number of direct descendants of the early Spanish settlers in Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado—sometimes known as Spanish Americans or Hispanos—the members of this group who are of Indo-Hispanic ancestry are usually known as “Mexicans,” even though their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents may have been born in territory which is today part of the United States, and in spite of the fact that many can speak only a few words of Spanish and do not in any way identify themselves with any other country. The indiscriminate use of such a term in referring to such widely varying individuals is of more than academic importance because it frequently represents the extension of stereotyped notions as to mental characteristics and personal habits to persons who differ greatly and because it makes it difficult to establish and maintain democratic cultural and ethnic relations.

It is true in part, of course, that the Spanish-speaking people of the southwestern United States possess a different historical tradition and cultural background from that of the inhabitants of various other parts of the country. They are not alone in this, however, and they have a rich inheritance of their own which goes further back even than that of the early colonial settlers of New England. It was Spanish-speaking people from Spain and Mexico who colonized what are now the states of Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, conquering and in part

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<sup>1</sup> Estimate of the U.S. Bureau of the Census based on a 5 per cent sample, uniformly multiplied by 20. Of the total 699,220 calculated native-born residents of the United States of Mexican parentage 549,120 were under 25, 174,580 between 15 and 24, and 370,540 under 15. There were in addition a small number of persons under 25 years of age who were resident in the United States, but born in Mexico of Mexican parentage. Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Population—Age of the Foreign White Stock and Citizenship of the Foreign Born White by Country of Birth of Parents—1940. Washington, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 19, 1943, p. 3 (Series P-15, No. 12).

amalgamating with the Indian population. Both the Spanish and the mestizos have made much more important contributions to the development of the nation than is usually recognized. The present-day descendants of these groups have reason to be proud of their heritage, and the reasons for this should be more widely known. Steps taken to spread the appreciation of this background need not create disunity but could enrich our national culture and at the same time do much to facilitate the integration of the minority group into national life.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the failure to win acceptance into full citizenship on a basis of equality, persons of Mexican ancestry are showing increasing signs of dissatisfaction and unrest, particularly in the large urban centers such as Denver, El Paso, San Antonio, and Los Angeles and in such northern industrial areas as they have settled. Something of the same spirit of revolt is also beginning to be felt even in the rural Southwest. The young people, particularly, are beginning to demand more respect and as a result of frustrated efforts to secure equality of treatment are becoming more and more self-conscious.

There are so many legal, social, and economic anomalies in their situation and so many obstacles to progress that something must be done to help Mexican American youth if they are to participate constructively in national life. As one of them wrote regarding a recent article by the present author,<sup>3</sup> "Before we can be integrated into American democracy, others must be willing to give us equality of opportunity and accept us as fellow participants in the common task of creating a better world. In other words, democracy must be made more genuine."

A primary prerequisite to such participation, of course, is for the standard of living of this economically depressed group to be raised to a level similar to that of the more advantaged portion of the population, but many other things must also be done. While more basic improvements are being worked out, there are innumerable relatively modest ways in which everyone can help to break down prejudices and misunderstandings and build up friendly cooperation. Members of both groups need practical opportunities to learn to appreciate each other's background and cultural resources and their problems so that they can work together. Leaders of civic organizations in communities where Mexicans are located can make

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<sup>2</sup> Some groups, particularly in the Southwest, are making some efforts in this direction, but the extension of an understanding of the benefits of cultural democracy would do much to unify the nation through mutual respect and an appreciation of the value of sharing varying backgrounds.

<sup>3</sup> "Integration of the Mexican Minority in the United States into American Democracy," *Events and Trends in Race Relations*, January 1947.

definite efforts to see to it that they are represented and give special encouragement to the young people to take part. Participation of all groups in enjoyable social and recreational activities or in common efforts in behalf of community improvement projects is particularly important in building wholesome community life. Recognition of common interests and the development of informal friendly relationships can do much to dissipate traditional prejudices and can serve as a base for cooperative action.

The Pan American Council of Chicago during the initial period of its organization accomplished a great deal along this line as an active, democratically organized association of people of varying background and economic and social status participating in the development of better inter-American relations in a variety of fields, including social service activities.<sup>4</sup> The Friends of Mexico group, which was closely associated with the Council at the time, also did an excellent piece of work jointly with Mexico-American and Anglo-American youth.

For a spirit of true fraternity to develop, however, genuine mutual respect must exist and equality of opportunity must prevail. Better educational and vocational opportunities should be provided for young Mexican Americans so that they may not only help their own group but also assume positions of leadership in the general community in which they live. Members of other groups also need to learn to appreciate them. Where segregation exists in the schools it must be terminated so that children of various backgrounds can learn to play and work together. Educational systems need to be improved and strengthened in low income areas such as those in which the great majority of Mexican Americans live. Scholarships and fellowships need to be made available in generous number to the underprivileged. In the granting of such assistance, geographic distribution, economic need, demonstrated desire to be of service, and various types of ability should be taken into account as well as strictly academic accomplishments. The present shortage of bilingual secretaries, competent Spanish teachers, and professionally trained economists, sociologists, and social workers with an understanding of the problems of undeveloped areas would probably not be as serious if funds available during the depression years had been more constructively used and equitably distributed or if the wartime program of inter-American activity had included a well-thought-out and adequately financed plan of action in behalf of this neglected group.

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<sup>4</sup> A series of articles on the activities of this organization and the experiments conducted under its auspices is in preparation.

In 1943, after a great deal of urging, special scholarships for graduate students from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado were granted in limited number by the Office of Inter-American Affairs and administered by the Institute of International Education. The purpose of these grants was to give Spanish-speaking professional workers, who would return to their home communities to render specialized service, an opportunity for additional training. The grants provided for free tuition and incidental expenses for a period of a year at accredited universities and professional schools in various parts of the country. Fields of study included the social sciences, education, social work, medicine, agriculture, home economics. At the end of a year of graduate work scholarship holders were returned to their own communities to apply the knowledge they had acquired to bettering standards of living among Spanish-speaking people in the United States and improving relations between that group and other sectors of the population. Unfortunately, this program was discontinued in 1945, and there has been no follow-up study to determine its practical success.

No educational institution, not even the schools of social work which by tradition are supposed to train personnel equipped to aid those in need of special assistance, has made any marked contribution to the preparation of young people for service to the Spanish-speaking.<sup>5</sup>

While giving lip service to the need for meeting international responsibilities we have done little to promote a better understanding of intergroup and intercultural relations at home and to develop more democratic attitudes toward those whose background differs from the dominant pattern.

The Mexican American as well as the Anglo-American groups should develop a deeper appreciation of the values to be obtained from democratic intergroup relations. Under such circumstances young people of Mexican descent could be useful to each group as interpreters of the needs and resources of the other and in addition could help create better interregional as well as international understanding and cooperation.

Providing educational opportunities, however, is not alone sufficient. Reasonably well remunerated positions need to be made available to well-trained young people of Mexican descent so that they can serve their group and at the same time maintain the higher standards of living they

<sup>5</sup> The need for giving special consideration to cultural factors has been called many times to the attention of the schools of social work and to their accrediting association; but until recently little thought has been given to problems related to cultural and ethnic relations, and there are still almost no opportunities for training available to persons of limited means in the Southwest or belonging to the Spanish-speaking group.



have achieved. In the past too many have become discouraged not only by the unfavorable factors of their environment but because the future did not seem to be particularly promising. They need personal encouragement and aid. Frequently, they have found identification with the minority group a serious obstacle to professional progress, and those in a marginal position between the two groups have found themselves rejected by all, even though they could be extremely useful as intercultural interpreters.

Attempts by professionally trained individuals to assume local community leadership have sometimes been misunderstood and resisted. On the other hand, the need for such persons to develop and preserve broader contacts and to devote time to the development of technical skills has not been appreciated, and more has been demanded of them in the way of service than anyone could reasonably give. More attention undoubtedly needs to be given to such problems of intergroup relations, and further experimentation and research is required as to how to make the best use of different types of leaders in the solution of community problems and the development of a wholesome type of civic life.

## THE INTERCULTURAL WORKSHOP AND RACIAL DISTANCE

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

*University of Southern California*

A case study of the effects of an intercultural workshop experience on racial distance was made by the writer during the summer of 1947 in connection with the Intercultural Workshop, which was a regular part of a six-week summer session at the University of Southern California and which represented a full-time program of study.<sup>1</sup> Considerable help in making such a study was drawn from previous studies of a similar nature.

An Intercultural Workshop group is carefully selected in terms not only of their interest but of their ability to contribute to the discussions in the Workshop. All might be expected to show more nearness toward minority groups than does the average person because of their experiences in positions of an intercultural nature. It might be assumed that participation in an intercultural workshop in a six-week summer session would not necessarily cut down racial distance reactions an appreciable amount.

Early in the first week of the Intercultural Workshop the members filled out the revised Racial Distance Scale.<sup>2</sup> The arithmetic mean of their reactions toward thirty-six racial-nationality groups was found to be 1.84 as compared with the racial distance quotient of 2.13 for the 1,950 persons who in 1946 filled out the same scale and who were representative of six regions of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

During the Workshop period the usual program included lectures on cultures and racial tensions, discussions of methods to reduce tensions and prevent conflicts and riots, reports by members of various nationality groups concerning their experiences, visits to welfare agencies engaged in social work in behalf of immigrant groups, and work from practical research projects involving an increase of understanding of minority groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Under the general direction of Mrs. Jane Hood of the School of Education and with Dr. Harvey J. Locke of the Department of Sociology as a regular lecturer. The enrollment consisted of twenty-six graduate students, most of whom were on vacation from regular positions in educational and public welfare and who had been carefully selected for membership in the Workshop, and nine additional from the lecture class.

<sup>2</sup> Revised to give "equidistant distance situations" to which reactions were recorded. See E. S. Bogardus, "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, 17: 265-71, January-February, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> It may be explained here that, according to the system of scoring used, the lowest quotient possible is 1.00 and that the highest rarely runs above 3.50, although theoretically it could go above 5.00 but not above 7.00.

In the early part of the last week of the Workshop period the members filled out the Scale again. The purpose was to see whether any change had occurred in five weeks. The new arithmetic mean of the Racial Distance Scores of the members of the Workshop was 1.63, which represents a reduction of racial farness of .21 points, which is to be viewed as a sizable decrease.<sup>4</sup>

At once it may be mentioned that there was a considerable variation in the reactions of the various members of the Workshop. Twenty-three of the thirty experienced a definite decrease in racial distance—as much as .51 in one case and .84 in another; six showed only a minor decrease, for example, .03; and two revealed an increase of .06 and .17 respectively. The person who showed a decrease of .84 registered a score of 2.03 the first time, which is distinctly above the average. The person who disclosed an increase of .17 registered the very low score of 1.08 the first time. The main picture, however, shows a noticeable decrease in distance on the part of persons who as a group had racial distance quotients distinctly below the average for the general public.

When the reactions of the Workshop members toward each of the racial-nationality groups are considered, a number of interesting observations are worthy of note. The columns of figures in the accompanying table give in order the arithmetic mean of the distance scores of the Workshop members toward the various groups (1) at the beginning of the Workshop period and (2) at the close. They give (3) the differences between these two sets of reactions, and (4) the arithmetic mean of the quotients of 1,950 persons (in 1946) who represented a cross section of six major regions of the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Specific attention will be called here only to Column Three. It will be observed that the decrease in the Racial Distance Quotient was general and somewhat uniform, barring a few exceptions which will be commented upon presently. Partial interview data indicate that the Workshop had an over-all or general tendency to decrease distance. There was as much decrease or more, with reference to some racial-nationality groups not mentioned in the Workshop meetings as there was with some others which were the subjects of extended attention. In other words, the atmosphere of the Workshop meetings was of such a character that an attitude of general cultural appreciation seems to have been functioning.

<sup>4</sup> The comparisons throughout this discussion are limited to thirty persons, for two of the total group were not present when the Scale was filled out the first time, two misunderstood instructions the first time, and one was absent the second time.

<sup>5</sup> To be published in 1948 in the *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*.

# RACIAL DISTANCE QUOTIENTS OF INTERCULTURAL WORKSHOP

SUMMER 1947

	<i>First Score</i>	<i>Second Score</i>	<i>Decrease or Increase</i>	<i>Score for U.S.</i>
Armenians .....	1.84	1.63	— .21	2.27
Amer. (White U.S.) .....	1.11	1.06	— .05	1.04
Bulgarians .....	2.13	1.80	— .33	2.04
Canadians .....	1.25	1.13	— .12	1.11
Chinese .....	2.32	2.03	— .29	2.50
Czechs .....	1.64	1.40	— .24	1.76
Danes .....	1.42	1.26	— .16	1.43
English .....	1.34	1.16	— .18	1.13
Filipinos .....	2.42	2.01	— .41	2.76
Finns .....	1.84	1.76	— .08	1.63
French .....	1.45	1.26	— .19	1.31
Germans .....	1.58	1.30	— .28	1.59
Greeks .....	1.92	1.76	— .16	2.23
Hollanders .....	1.52	1.23	— .29	1.37
Indians (Amer.) .....	2.24	1.70	— .54	2.55
Indians (India) .....	2.21	2.10	— .11	3.23
Irish .....	1.37	1.16	— .21	1.24
Italians .....	1.81	1.43	— .38	2.28
Japanese .....	2.52	2.26	— .26	3.61
Japanese Americans .....	2.37	2.00	— .37	2.66
Jews .....	1.71	1.46	— .25	2.32
Koreans .....	2.39	2.20	— .19	3.05
Mexicans .....	2.05	1.86	— .19	2.89
Mexican Americans .....	1.89	1.56	— .33	2.43
Mulattoes .....	2.08	2.07	— .01	3.39
Negroes .....	2.18	2.12	— .06	3.60
Norwegians .....	1.47	1.26	— .19	1.35
Portuguese .....	1.95	1.66	— .29	2.23
Poles .....	1.76	1.53	— .23	1.84
Russians .....	1.71	1.73	— .02	1.83
Scotch .....	1.32	1.13	— .19	1.26
Spanish .....	1.57	1.46	— .11	1.94
Syrians .....	2.15	1.80	— .35	2.52
Swedes .....	1.50	1.20	— .30	1.40
Turks .....	2.18	2.03	— .15	2.76
Yugoslavs .....	2.00	1.80	— .20	2.19
Arithmetic Mean .....	1.84	1.63	— .21	2.13

The question may be raised, What factors other than those of the Workshop affected the attitudes of the members toward racial-nationality groups during the weeks involved? No absolute answer can be given, but it may be stated that practically all the members gave their full working hours to the Workshop. They were taking vacations from their regular positions. Partial interview data disclose no other major influencing factors with one exception. It will be noticed that the reactions toward Russians show no decrease in distance. They seem to have stood still, although they might have been expected to decrease the average amount

shown toward all the racial-nationality groups, or somewhere around .21 points, if the theory of general influence of the Workshop holds valid. If so, then what factor enters into the situation which offset the normally expected decrease? Interviewing a few members brought forth the fact that during the Workshop period "the newspapers were filled with protests against the use of the veto by the U.S.S.R." It was also stated that the press "was filled with propaganda against infiltration of Communist influence into the United States from Moscow." The reactions to reports such as these seem to have just about offset the normally expected decrease in distance.

The slightness of the decrease in distance accorded the Mulattoes and Negroes is due to the operation of the mores which oppose intermarriage of white and colored persons and which meant that some members did not check the first column for either Negroes or Mulattoes. The small decline in distance given Americans (white and born in the U.S.) is related to the fact that the score for them the first time was only 1.11 and that, since the lowest score possible is 1.00, it would be impossible to reduce the distance as much as the average of .21.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to compare the results of this study with the unpublished findings of a similar one made some years ago that involved a class studying race relations for the period of a semester. The members of that class of seventy-two were not selected as were the Workshop people because of their interest in intercultural matters. Only a small proportion were sociology majors. The class represented at least fifteen different college disciplines, and the average score the first time the Racial Distance Scale was filled out by them was approximately 2.45 or close to the average for a cross section of the United States at that particular time.

The scores taken at the end of the course extending over four months were compared with those taken at the beginning, and while not at all conclusive the results were as follows: (1) students with high distance scores and those with low scores did not show much change as a result of taking the course. While there were exceptions, there was a tendency in the farness type to stay fairly immobile. The positions of these members were pretty well established before the course began, being based on adverse stereotypes that were not readily modified. The extreme nearness persons could not change much as a result of a careful study of race relations, for

<sup>6</sup> An important question arises at this point, How lasting will be this decrease in social distance? No answer is available, and moreover the difficulty of obtaining an answer is great. If the persons involved filled out the Racial Distance Scale a year or two years after the Workshop ended, so many employment and other types of experiences would have operated that definite conclusions would not be feasible.



they were already close to the nearness pole of the scale. Although the average change for the entire class toward the nearness pole was .26, the average decrease of the middle group in distance reactions at the end of the four months' period, after eliminating the members who were either extremely near or far, was .28. This so-called middle majority did not have fixed attitudes at the beginning of the course and hence were more open to a nearness change as a result of systematically studying the origins and developments of racial tensions and discriminations. They moved in a body, as it were, toward the nearness pole. On the other hand, the immobile reactions of those with extreme nearness and farness scores just about offset each other, leaving the racial distance quotients of the entire class similar to those for the middle group of students.

The general conclusions of the study of the effects of participation in the Intercultural Workshop may be stated as follows:

1. The informal and intensive analysis of racial problems that is characteristic of an intercultural workshop gives its members insights that they do not as a rule acquire while working and studying individually. The interviews tended to show that near the close of the Workshop there was a tendency for many members to approach intercultural problems more definitely than before in terms of mankind as such, and for differences between "races" to melt away in their thinking.

2. The change in racial reactions toward the nearness pole in two thirds of the persons involved is large enough to suggest that these changes be studied further, that new experiments be conducted to the end that the Racial Distance Scale be improved, and that more elaborate interviews be conducted in order to obtain explanations of what aspects of an intercultural workshop are most effective in decreasing social distance.

3. An inference suggested by one of the members of the Workshop is that it is important if not necessary for all prospective teachers in teachers colleges and schools of education to take at least one full-time intercultural workshop course of at least six weeks' length. Since all teachers are likely to encounter, sooner or later, the problems inherent in cultural and nationality differences, their training as teachers is incomplete without the experiences which an intercultural workshop can give.

## PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

### *Pacific Sociological Society*

On April 29 and 30 and May 1, 1948, the annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society will be held at Santa Barbara, California. As announced, the headquarters of the meetings will be at the Carrillo Hotel. The president of the Pacific Sociological Society is Dr. Richard T. LaPiere of Stanford University; Dr. Leonard Bloom of the University of California is serving as secretary-treasurer.

### *University of British Columbia*

Dr. C. W. Topping has returned to the university from a leave of absence as visiting professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota. During the 1946-47 session Dr. E. W. DuVall served as visiting professor of sociology at the University of British Columbia. A definite expansion in anthropology has taken place with the appointment of Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn as professor of anthropology. Dr. L. C. Marsh of McGill University has been appointed to the department of social work as a specialist in research.

### *University of New Mexico*

Assistant Professor Lyle Saunders of the sociology department has been granted a year's leave of absence to take charge of a research project among the Mexicans of Texas. The project is financed by a grant from the General Education Board and is under the sponsorship of the University of Texas. Mrs. Bertha F. Crowell, formerly of the sociology department of Texas College of Mines, will take over Professor Saunders' courses for the spring semester.

### *State College of Washington*

The following persons have been added to the staff: Dr. Wallis Beasley, assistant professor of sociology, formerly of Pepperdine College, Los Angeles; Dr. Vernon Davies, assistant professor of sociology, formerly associate professor at the University of Minnesota; Dr. J. E. Batchelder, associate professor and codirector of the public opinion laboratory; formerly professor of sociology at the University of New Hampshire; Dr. Allan H. Smith, associate professor of anthropology, formerly of the University of Texas. In addition to the foregoing the following persons have been added to the staff as instructors: Marvin J. Taves, rural sociology, formerly of the University of Minnesota; Edward C.

Cross, social organization, formerly of the University of Chicago; John Paschke, general sociology, formerly of the University of Minnesota; Milton J. Maxwell, social psychology, formerly of the University of Texas; Lloyd J. Elias, rural sociology. Dr. T. H. Kennedy is now chairman of the department of sociology. Some of the research projects under way include census tracting in the State of Washington (Davies); survey of state institutions (Kennedy and Lillywhite); study of divorce trends in the Northwest, 1927-47 (Dent, Kennedy, and Lillywhite); social processes as revealed in the Basque civilization in the United States (Edlefsen and Kennedy); counseling in the public high schools of Washington (Elias); student attitudes toward Russia as revealed in the Marshall Plan (Yoder); Kalispell ethnography (Smith).

*Brigham Young University*

Dr. Ariel S. Ballif is the chairman of the department of sociology. Dr. Reed H. Bradford, formerly of Harvard University, has been advanced to the rank of full professor of sociology.

*University of Southern California*

Dr. Charles E. Hutchinson of the University of Maryland will teach courses in sociology during the coming summer postsession.

## SOCIAL THEORY

**THE SELECTED WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN RUSH.** Dagobert D. Runes, Editor. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1947, pp. 415.

Dagobert Runes has made a significant contribution in his able editing of the writings of Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, honored medical practitioner, teacher, philosopher, and student of human and social problems. The reader will be impressed with Rush's insight into the problems of his day and the solutions he proposes, which, in general, are surprisingly up to date. Some of the topics he considers are slave keeping, war, capital punishment, and fitting amusements and punishments for school children. Educators will be especially interested in Rush's criticism of corporal punishment as a means of correcting misbehavior. His arguments against such practices sound as if they were written in this era.

One is continually struck with the breadth of Rush's writing activities. For example, his thinking in regard to newspaper content is interesting. Modern newspapers could well note his judgment as to what constitutes real news. It hardly needs be stated that he was not in favor of sensationalism, which must have irked his intelligence even as the same practice irks many thinking persons today. Not everyone will agree with the editor's selections of Rush's writings, but all readers will find this book worth while.

W. D. MACQUARRIE  
*San Diego State College*

**EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH.** By F. Stuart Chapin. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. x+206.

As indicated in the Introduction, this book and Ernest Greenwood's *Experimental Sociology* hold a kind of complementary relationship to each other, for Greenwood deals with some of the theoretical aspects of the logic underlying experimental designs, while Chapin classifies his book as being "in the nature of a source book of examples of specific application" of experimental designs, which he analyzes in specific ways. Chapin states that experimental design in sociological research "refers to systematic study of human relations by making observations under conditions of control," and describes three types of such studies. One he calls "cross-sectional experimental design," which makes controlled comparisons "for a specific date through the use of selective control procedures." A second is designated as "a projected design," in which attempts are made "to measure effects of a social program or a social force at some future date, or a sort of present and future study. The third type is the "ex post facto design," in which current effects are traced back to causes, and the logic of which Greenwood has extensively analyzed.

Chapin gives attention in this book to a small number of illustrations of each of the three types of research projects. In the first type he analyzes the relation of "two factors at one date"; in the second and third types he discusses "the method of controlled observation of changes" in the association of two factors. He dwells at some length upon a number of interesting problems, such as cause and effect or concomitant variation, identical individual matching, scales for measurement, experimental groups, control groups, null hypotheses.

With reference to value judgments the author points out that their use indicates that one is a social philosopher and not a sociologist. He explains

that, although human relations as the subject of sociological study are "largely ordered to normative considerations," which are proper objects for sociologists to consider, value judgments "need not intrude into the methodological procedures of research to distort and to invalidate them." He points out that many positively stated hypotheses which the sociological research student sets up involve suggestions of "better" or of improvement, which are really value judgments in most cases. Therefore support is given the null hypothesis, which states negatively that the introduction of a given factor in a social situation will not change that situation in some given way.

The book brings research materials together in new ways and elaborates a number of research concepts. It puts sociological research in the field of operational thinking and controlled experiment and reduces personal opinion, personal bias, and personal desire to a minimum. There are no data yet available as a basis for predicting whether the term *experimental design* will receive extensive adoption.

E.S.B.

**FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.** By William E. Hocking. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. xi+243.

Students of public opinion analysis will be particularly interested in the principles set forth in this book by Dr. Hocking and the Commission on Freedom of the Press. The roles of ideas and facts must be thought of as inseparable; ideas divorced from facts throw no light on special problems, and facts without ideas yield no light at all, since facts cannot judge themselves. Freedom of the press in this country must imply the dual rights of the newspaper and the reading public to express criticism without fear of future censorship. The press must expect social groups to exercise pressure but must not permit them to exercise compulsion. A sharp contrast with the Soviet Union's policy of "freedom" comes to mind at this point. Writers may criticize the administration of communism, but not communism. Thus, the citizen of the U.S.S.R. has such liberties as the state plan allows, nothing of his own. Of course, the Russians criticize the space and emphasis American newspapers give to scandal, advertising, and escapist comics. Dr. Hocking believes that an ideally free press would be free to all who have something worth saying to the public; and the selection of the voices thus deserving to be heard must be a free selection, arising from the preparatory process of free speech, not from the desk of owner or editor alone. On almost every page of this work the careful reader will find significant challenges to our expressions of democracy as reflected in the daily newspaper.

E.C.M.



**THE CITY OF WOMEN.** By Ruth Landes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 248.

The author of this book, a social anthropologist, gathered her materials in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, during a long sojourn there in 1939. The book is based on the author's direct observations, supported liberally by information secured from other competent observers. Though Dr. Landes is a scientist, she has presented her materials in a storylike, literary style, vividly depicting many situations and many real personalities.

The subject matter of the book is a magico-religious institution, *candomblé*, an African cult brought to Brazil by Negroes long ago, and since then fused with the Roman Catholic religion. Perhaps the most unique feature of the *candomblé* institution is that its leaders and members are women; women are the ones into whom the gods enter and through whom they function. Through close contacts with the main priestesses of the *candomblé*, Dr. Landes witnessed the strange practices and ceremonies of the cult and learned many of its mysteries or ritual. "*Candomblé* is a system for worshipping gods, or saints. The word is from the Yoruba language and means mysteries or ritual. The system comes from Africa, and so do the gods; but, as the people are all practicing Catholics, the African gods are blurred with the Catholic Saints . . . Even Jesus is there, identified with their aged god Oxalá."

Students of psychology, social psychology, and anthropology will find in this book, among other things, illuminating examples of group psychology, hypnotism, magic, and culture diffusion. Its novel-like style and exotic subject matter will appeal to laymen.

LOUIS PETROFF

*Southern Illinois University*

**YOUTH AFTER CONFLICT.** By Goodwin Watson. Introduction by William A. Kilpatrick. New York: Association Press, 1947, pp. 300.

The book is an attempt to chart the pattern of youth in 1950. It questions the effect of war upon culture, upon the family, upon the mores. Dr. Watson traces the effects of the Civil War on American youth and of World War I on both European and American youth. He concludes that wars speed both technical and social changes, that they are followed by a separation of the generations, by a reaction of self-indulgence. But it is contended that war is an inadequate explanation for the "modernism of the 1920's." New methods of communication had been at work for 20 to 30 years before the war and these factors were more significant than the

war. However, there was a postwar reaction which manifested itself in greater prejudice, temporary isolationism, and increased use of alcohol and cigarettes.

Predictions of "youth's world in the 1950's" are given in seventy points based upon answers to a letter sent to one hundred selected leaders; some of these ideas seem radical in relation to more conservative current standards and yet they are tinged with idealism.

The concluding chapter, "The New Postwar Youth," presents Dr. Watson's belief that youth will remain predominantly optimistic. "They will be especially interested in the quest for values making life most worthwhile." There will be greater differences between different groups of youth than between youth and adults. The book lays down a future pattern which may well be checked in 1950. It is challenging not only for 1950 but for today as well. The conclusions are fearlessly presented, but they indicate an enthusiasm on the part of the author which may perhaps reflect his own beliefs.

B.A.MCC.

**SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN MALE.** By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948, pp. xv+804.

Called by one of the newsweeklies a "shocker in sex" and touted by columnist Winchell, this scientific study of the sexual behavior of the male by three Indiana University scientists promises to become a best seller. One fortunate aspect of this is that it will be read by many who would otherwise avoid it. Certainly, physicians, psychiatrists, judges, administrators of both educational and penal institutions, officials in the Army and Navy, and social scientists will find in it a wealth of vitally useful material.

Presented as the objective factual study of sexual behavior that it is, the book reports the results of a nine-year survey, with 12,000 persons, representing every age, every social level, and several racial groups, who were interviewed by the authors and their staff of assistants. Funds from the Rockefeller Foundation provided a major portion of the cost of the survey. The study should demonstrate what well-conducted, scientifically organized research in the social sciences can do for the community and society. In particular, it reveals the necessity for a re-evaluation and overhauling of sex education, for a more scientific outlook in dealing with sex matters, and for better procedures in advisement on sexual adjustments. Many preconceptions regarding so-called "normal" sex activities

are knocked into a cocked hat. It is possible that this study has made obsolete many of the discussions on sex and marital life now found in texts on marriage and the family.

Some of the findings are (1) patterns of sexual behavior reflect largely the pattern of the particular social level to which an individual belongs; (2) codes of morals, social and religious systems, sex laws have been built upon the false assumption that individuals are much alike sexually, and even scientific discussions of sex show little understanding of the range of variation in human behavior; (3) case histories abundantly demonstrate that most individuals who engage in taboo activities make satisfactory social adjustments, the taboo activities being often an expression of what is biologically basic in mammalian and anthropoid behavior and of a deliberate disregard for social convention; (4) only half of the male population shows exclusively heterosexual behavior, and but a few per cent exclusively homosexual; (5) nearly 85 per cent of all males have premarital sexual relations by the time they are 20, with the most active sexual period coming during adolescence; (6) by the age of 15 about 92 per cent of males have had some kind of sexual activity; and (7) prostitution patronage has fallen from about one half to two thirds of what it was thirty years ago.

Finally, the volume is noteworthy because of its revealing methodological notes. The chapter on the use of the interview is one of the most sensible and clear-cut descriptions of that method yet written. Another ten years will elapse before the entire study will be completed. Next to appear will be the results of the survey of the sexual behavior of the female, some of the aspects of which may be detected in the volume at hand.

M.J.V.

**HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. Volume I. ESTABLISHING THE GOALS.** A report of the President's Commission on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. ix+103.

The importance of this document lies not only in itself, with its emphasis upon redefining the functions of higher education in the United States today in terms of the needs of our new democratic responsibilities as a world-nation, but in the fact that it is the first of a group of six documents which constitute the complete findings of the President's Commission. The chairman of this Commission was George F. Zook, and the other twenty-eight members included persons of diverse interests, such as Arthur H. Compton, M. S. Eisenhower, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Horace M.

Kallen, Ordway Tead, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Among the objectives assigned the Commission was to find out if the present curricula of colleges and universities are adequate "in the fields of international affairs and of social understanding."

The Report points to needs that will call for 4,600,000 college students by 1960 (as compared with 2,354,000 in 1947). It states that it is time to make public education at all levels equally accessible to all without regard to race, creed, sex, or national origin. The Commission reacts against racial segregation in the schools (four members of the Commission, including Arthur H. Compton, dissent from this conclusion). The Report suggests as a goal for education that all persons, even on the graduate level and in the professions, be given training in social awareness and a knowledge of the ways of men, of matters of public policy, of the requirements for a changing social order, of the peoples and cultures that make up the world community; for men are not free where ignorance prevails and the United States cannot lead the world wisely if its citizens do not understand or practice democracy in their relationships with one another. It is disastrous today for a nation to allow its citizens to use their education "for personal and private profit, to the neglect of public and social service." It is likewise disastrous to produce "technicians in a very special field of science rather than scientists." The present world crisis is due to the fact that "man's capacity to subdue nature to his will has raced far ahead of his ability to understand himself or to reconstruct his institutions." A needed goal for education today is "to close the gap between scientific know-how and social wisdom."

E.S.B.

**DANGER FROM THE EAST.** By Richard E. Lauterbach. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xi+430.

There is real danger from the East, according to the author, if corruption, inflation, and the competitive military policies of the United States and Soviet Russia continue to mount. Lauterbach gathered much of the material for this book when he was in Japan, Korea, and China as a foreign correspondent for *Life* magazine. In 1946 he was a Nieman fellow in journalism at Harvard University and devoted the year to reading, reflecting, and the actual writing of this interesting book.

Lauterbach questions much of the reported success of General MacArthur as a teacher of democracy to the Japanese people. He presents the picture of military public relations, close censorship of all incoming and outgoing political news, and the Emperor as a necessary and efficient

agent of control over Japan. Korea is a nation occupied by two uninvited guests, the United States and Soviet Russia. Korea desires its independence, but the prospect of freedom depends upon the decrease of friction between America and Russia.

China is a nation of great social problems and limited hope. The black market, inflation, and internal conflict seem to have taken the place of the Japanese invaders. General George Marshall's truce between the national government and the Communists might have spelled peace had he remained in China longer. Lauterbach believes that the solution of the problem of China will come with the group that can do the most for the peasants. Hence, the political party that provides fuller rice bowls for the millions will eventually win China. From a reading of this book it becomes manifest that China, the victor in war, is a nation of despair; Korea, the unlucky bystander in war, is a conquered and helpless land; and Japan, the loser in war, is full of hope for a bright tomorrow. It becomes difficult to know what is meant by "winning" or "losing" a war.

E.C.M.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THOUGHT.** By Emory S. Bogardus.  
New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947, pp. x+574. 28 ed

The second edition of *The Development of Social Thought*, now making its appearance, brings with it those characteristics of a Bogardus text—conspicuously good organization, lucidity of thought, and pointed emphasis on the significant in the materials. One notices also the scholarly approach in the presentation of the evolution of social thought from the earliest proverbs of primitive man down to modern times and the excellent selections of the leaders who have contributed to social thought. In this new edition the bibliographies at the close of the chapters have been brought up to the moment. The most important addition is a concluding chapter on the content of Robert E. Park's sociological thought. This affords the author a fine opportunity to elaborate upon the impetus given to American sociology by Park, an insistence upon the use of human experiences in a realistic manner and within a sociological frame of reference. The author succeeds in laying a solid foundation for those who would understand the present and build for the future by interpreting the meaningful significance of the past. In a very real sense, thought is the substance and not the shadow which moves the human world. The book has been designed, primarily, for the use of college seniors, and will probably do much to communicate the author's contagious enthusiasm for research.

M.J.V.



**CONFLICTS OF POWER IN MODERN SOCIETY. A Symposium.** Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xx+703.

This is the Seventh Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. As indicated by the title, the fifty-two papers by as many authors or more make a book of readings for every week of the year on many aspects of the present power-ridden world. The six major parts indicate the total scope as follows: The Nature of Western Culture with Particular Reference to the Tendency toward Aggressiveness, The Transmission and Transformation of Culture and the Relation of These Processes to the Problem of Aggressiveness, Problems of the Integration of Human Culture, Ideas and Ideals as Sources of Power in the Modern World, The Role of Political Power as Divisive and as Integrating Factors in Western Culture, and Culture and Power in the Modern World. The roster of authors includes such names as Talcott Parsons, Arnold Gesell, Henry N. Wieman, Bertrand Russell, Charles S. Johnson, Ralph Linton, F. S. C. Northrop, Edgar S. Brightman, Walter G. Muellder, Ralph T. Flewelling, Louis Wirth, Ordway Tead, and Franz Alexander. Out of this welter of viewpoints come many ideas of commanding worth.

The sociologist will find of interest the discussion of certain primary sources and patterns of aggression in the social structure of the Western world by Talcott Parsons. The integration of racial minorities in the United States is treated by Charles S. Johnson. The ways in which ideas and ideals are sources of power in the modern world are analyzed by Louis Wirth. Other topics of sociological interest are Western culture and scientific method (Margenau), individual differences and cultural patterns (Morris), the influence of recent social changes on the desire for social mobility in the United States (Havighurst), and the psychocultural approach (Frank).

A volume of this kind contains a wealth of somewhat related but un-integrated ideas. They constitute a valuable source book that calls for a more complete study than the average reader will give to them. The materials need to be analyzed and put into categories for comparison and interpretation. In the main, the permeating theme is that the atomic bomb immeasurably plays into the hands of power politics and totalitarianism and makes imperative the prompt development of a world government based on an intercultural educational development in all countries and on an integration of various ideologies.

E.S.B.

**THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.** By John A. Kinneman.  
New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., Inc., 1947, pp. 450.

This book is a worth-while addition to the various studies dealing with the community. It gives especial attention to cities ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 population. Interesting illustrations are offered in descriptions of various types of communities. The book is well organized. Beginning with a discussion of the nature of community and classification of communities, it discusses the structure, the people, the institutions, the organization, and the functions of the community. The last section is devoted to change and its effects and finally to planning the community.

Since the author believes that the community can best be understood from a combination of study and participation, the reader is not surprised to find at the close of each chapter a list of "Suggested Activities" along with "Selected References." Statistical tables, especially of population, and maps enhance the value of the book. It is up to date and will serve as an excellent text for courses on the community. But it needs to be supplemented by more detailed case studies of communities in order to give a clear picture of the social processes at work in every community.

B.A.MCC.

**RADICALISM AND CONSERVATISM TOWARD CONVENTIONAL RELIGION.** By Philip M. Kitay. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947, pp. 117.

This Ph.D. dissertation from the Department of Education of Teachers College, Columbia University, is a comparative study of those who oppose the church and those who favor it. The sample in each group was 25, representing the most favorable and the least favorable toward the church in a group of 139 urban Jewish students on the sophomore, junior, and senior levels.

The group favorably disposed toward the church differed significantly from the control group in greater religiousness in their homes, greater number of years in church school education, greater harmony in homes, more harmonious parent-child relations, less conflict between parents and children, closer family ties, and an absence of disruptive experiences.

A low moderate relationship between radicalism-conservatism in religious matters and radicalism-conservatism in politico-economic items was discovered.

H.J.L.

OUTLINE OF AMERICAN REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge: The Phillips Book Store, 1947, pp. 122.

In the Preface it is stated that the outline is a "research instrument." It is dedicated to Dr. Carl C. Taylor, retiring president of the American Sociological Society. The *Outline* is well organized, early chapters being devoted to a brief discussion of American regional sociology, the nature of a region, and the regional characteristics of the United States. Seven regions are located: the Southern, the Northeast Urban-Industrial, the Appalachian-Ozarks, the Cornbelt, the Wheatbelt, the Arid West, and the Pacific (American Mediterranean Region).

For each region there are brief notations concerning its geography, its social-system personality, its contributions, and its deviations or problems or responsibilities. Maps (except one) are used by courtesy of the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The excellent bibliography closing each chapter includes both scientific and literary references (including fiction) specifically related to the region.

B.A.MCC.

NOT BY MIGHT. By A. J. Muste. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xiii+227.

Pacifism is the answer to the threat of the atomic bomb. The author, a well-known pacifist spokesman, sets forth this thesis frankly and supports it with political, philosophical, and religious arguments. Agreeing that atomic warfare may destroy civilization and even mankind, he points out the current American dilemma. We want permanent peace; yet we prepare for greater wars. Peace will never come that way. The world needs several million conscientious objectors. In the United States these can move their country to take the initiative in renouncing war, disarming, and building an effective world organization.

The churches are taken to task for hair-splitting sophisms by which they evaded the conflict between war and their gospel. So also are the atomic scientists who invented the bomb, continue its development, and yet beg the world not to use it.

Though fully aware that his proposal will seem utterly unreasonable to most people, the author believes that there is no other escape from atomic disaster. He presents his case with thought-provoking forcefulness.

LORELL WEISS  
*La Verne College*

## RACES AND CULTURE

RACE AND NATIONALITY AS FACTORS IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947, pp. v+216.

Ever since Professor Fairchild published his pioneer study on Greek immigration to the United States he has kept alive his interest in problems dealing with race and nationality. He brings his years of discriminating study to bear upon what are some of the most difficult problems involved in the development of a well-integrated national life in the United States, and insists upon accurate thinking, especially on the part of those who, like himself, are favorable to "the achievement of inter-group harmony" and "the elimination of friction."

The author distinguishes between race and nationality as sharply as it is possible to do so, pointing out that the so-called Jewish problem is a nationality problem and that the so-called Negro problem is racial. He defines a race as "a biologically unified and identifiable subdivision of a larger biological group" and states that nationality refers to membership in a state which is "that aspect or phase of society that is equipped and authorized to use force." A nationality "is a group of people who feel alike and together about a considerable number of the major interests and values of life." Moreover, nationalities are not necessarily contradictory to efficient international relations.

Dr. Fairchild challenges the loose thinking which sometimes characterizes the writings of eminent persons on racial themes, such as Franz Boas or Ruth Benedict, and of many lesser known advocates of racial fair play. These are some of the popular generalizations which are challenged: that we are all immigrants or descendants of immigrants; that all men have a common origin; that men of all races are much more alike than they are different; that there are greater differences between the extremes of a single race than there are between the average types of different races; that there are no pure races today; and that race prejudice cannot be innate because it does not appear in children. In these connections, the author contends that either nothing is proved or that too much is proved. For example, the fact that small children show no race prejudice may be accepted, but what does it prove? A child has many inherited traits which do not appear until he is an adolescent or older. The chief value of the book, perhaps, is in its insistence on precise thinking regarding race and nationality, particularly on the part of those who are seeking to eliminate unjust treatment of social groups.

E.S.B.

**SNOWBALLS OF GARHWAL.** Edited by D. N. Majumdar, with lino-cuts by L. M. Sen. Lucknow, India: The Universal Publishers, Ltd., 1946, pp. 95.

**FIELD SONGS OF CHHATTISGARH.** By S. C. Dude. Lucknow, India: The Universal Publishers, Ltd., 1947, pp. 95.

These two volumes are a part of a folk-culture series, published under the auspices of the Ethnographic and Folkculture Society, Lucknow, U.P. In addition to the articles used for the book titles, each volume contains material on folklore, folk songs, marriage songs, and other culture material.

**A HISTORY OF THE JEWS: From the Babylonian Exile to the End of World War II.** By Solomon Grayzel. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947, pp. ix+835.

Stubborn adherence to their religion and martyrdom for their beliefs make up the warp and woof of Jewish history, as Mr. Grayzel sees it. Running throughout the whole historical fabric like a subdominant motif is the author's personal conviction that only as the Jews retain their cultural unity, and especially its religious core, will they survive, either as individuals or as a group.

Comprehensive rather than intensive in scope, covering as it does a period of twenty-five hundred years, the volume views the evolution of Jewish corporate life as a spiraling social process. Moments of glory alternate with eons of despair, but all moves ever higher toward the shining light of human brotherhood. The United States represents the highest peak the cycle has so far attained, since its emphasis on democracy and education has done most to combat the two chief scourges of the Jew—the superstitious ignorance of the poverty-stricken masses and the calculating anti-Semitism of the dominant social and economic classes, who successfully exploit their fellows without fear of retribution by offering up the Jew as the sacrificial scapegoat.

Aside from its value as a text for beginning students of Jewish history, or as an introduction to Jewish life for the layman, the volume has interest for specialists in several disciplines. The etymologist will discover the origin and derivation of *rabbi*, *synagogue*, *ghetto*, and *Pharisee*. The ethnologist will learn of Jewish cultural islands in Ethiopia, China, Japan, and India—how these came to be and how the Jews of these exotic lands have modified traditional practices to blend with the customs of their adopted countries. The sociologist may find of interest the techniques of



adaptation evolved by the Jews in response to the stresses and strains of their environment. In the flexibility of the Jewish group, in fact, Grayzel has pointed out one of the major reasons for the survival of Judaism and its adherents.

As a source book of cultural origins and continuity, *A History of the Jews* may prove of unusual value to the scientist and of encouragement to the Jew.

MELVIN NADELL

**THE INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS.** By John Collier. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1927, pp. xi+326.

John Collier, who served from 1933 to 1945 as Indian Commissioner of the United States, brings to bear in this unique study of the American Indians his broad social philosophy, his deep appreciation of the symbolism of Indian culture, and his keen sense of injustice. He came into the field of Indian service from extensive experience in community organization work and at once began to live the community experiences of the Indians. He found that "the social destruction piled on biological destruction which the white man had wrought upon the Indians" had not killed the most profound of the Indians' spiritual possessions, their world-view, and their self-view. He became a strong protagonist for allowing the Indians to develop their own ideas and inner resources. He reacted against making the Indians over into Anglo-Americans, particularly at the expense of the finer elements in their culture.

One major part of the book treats of the Indians south of the Rio Grande, for example, the Incas and the Aztecs. The shortsightedness and the cruelty of the Spanish Colonials are developed at length. The other major part deals with the Indians north of the Rio Grande, especially the Iroquois, Cherokees, the California Indians, and the Plains Indians. The Indian New Deal, which was inaugurated under the direction of Mr. Collier, is described and the problems encountered are analyzed. He enunciates seven principles which were put into effect by him in the work with the Indians. The emphases are on freedom for the Indian in his development and on research, for "in the ethnic field research can be made a tool of action essential to all the other tools, indeed, it ought to be the master tool."

The readers of this book will greatly appreciate Mr. Collier's insight into Indian nature and aspirations, his understanding of Indian mysticism, and his literary and philosophical style, but they will feel that at times the

author overplays the role of protagonist and hence exaggerates certain aspects of the Indian's situation and minimizes other aspects. There is no question, however, but that the Indian needs an able interpreter such as is found in Mr. Collier.

E.S.B.

**MINORITIES IN THE ARAB WORLD.** By A. H. HOURANI. London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. viii+140.

Countries surveyed in this small volume include the following: Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. At one time all of these countries were part of the Ottoman Empire, with the Arabic language as the chief vehicle of communication. Within this community of culture reside 28,000,000 people, of whom about 7,500,000 are the minorities depicted in this work. The principal minorities are Copts, Greek Orthodox, Uniate Christians, Armenians, Shi's, Kurds, and Jews. One of the central problems of the region is the continued growth of nationalism. Hourani does not believe that there is much chance for the development of a supranational state in the Middle East. He points out that in the long run the only way to solve the problems of minorities is the development of a community feeling between majority and minority groups where mutual trust and respect dominate rather than selfish interests. The work is scholarly, and throws some light on the imperialistic ambitions of the great powers in the Arab world.

E.C.M.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

**ADULT EDUCATION FOR HOMEMAKING.** By L. Belle Pallard. Second Edition. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1947, pp. 194.

This book was first published in 1939 under the title *Adult Education in Homemaking*. It is not a course of study. It deals primarily with "promoting, organizing, supervising and evaluating educational programs," and with methods of teaching. Included are "case studies" of homemaking programs in various communities in different parts of the United States. The practical value of the book, in line with its purpose, is enhanced by questionnaires, indirect sheets and tests, outlines, and an adequate list of objectives. However, it may be a bit disappointing to the casual reader who is led by the title to expect more specific material.

B.A.MCC.

**WHY WE ACT AS WE DO.** By PHILIP EISENBERG. Illustrated by Ida Scheib. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947.

In this discussion of the reasons prompting man's behavior, Philip Eisenberg stresses the humanity of man. He expresses the idea that the ability to think is man's most important characteristic. However, in explaining the ways in which environment shapes our lives, the author emphasizes that the difference in the socioeconomic status of individuals accounts for variation in intelligence quotients more than does any other factor. Probably because of limited space, the author does not qualify the terms *rich child* and *poor child* but leaves the interpretation of these terms to the reader.

The author not only presents the idea that environment affects people. He also sets forth the idea that man can and does change his environment and eventually himself through his persistent efforts to satisfy basic needs. These needs, according to Mr. Eisenberg, are "physical, affectional, social, and creative needs."

Although the book deals with the science of psychology, it is not written in highly technical terms; and although the author seriously explains why we act as we do, his clever, humorous style makes the book entertaining as well as informative. For the reader interested in pursuing a topic discussed in a particular chapter, there is a bibliography, arranged according to chapters, at the end of the book. In addition, a topical index gives the page number for the wide range of materials contained in this book.

MARGARET E. LAWRENCE

**SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR.** By Hewlett Johnson. New York: Boni & Gaer, 1947, pp. 270.

The paradoxical Dean of Canterbury, who manages to be both an Anglican churchman and an avowed friend of communist Russia, describes his recent travels over a large portion of that country. His observations are so engaging and entertaining that the reader is likely to overlook their obvious bias. There is scarcely a critical word in the entire volume.

Interspersed with his adventures are a considerable number of statistics and other technical details of Russia's program and progress. No sources are cited for these, though it is fairly certain that they are not the result of the author's own primary research. The book, nevertheless, is not without value. It might at least serve as an antidote for current anti-Russian hysteria.

LORELL WEISS

La Verne College

**RUSSELL-SAGE FOUNDATION: 1907-1946.** BY JOHN M. GLENN, LILIAN BRANDT, AND F. EMERSON ANDREWS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947, 2 vols., pp. xvii+ix+746.

The first forty years of the work of the Russell Sage Foundation, which are reviewed in detail in these two volumes, roughly span the period in which modern social work in America has come to maturity. In this development the Foundation has played a significant—frequently a decisive—role. Its influence, as this account well shows, has been far greater than the size of the Foundation would have led one to expect. It has provided leadership, carried on experiments, given impetus to nascent movements through subsidies, published professional materials, developed new techniques, carried on basic research work, and generally functioned in those professional fields in which many agencies have a real interest but for which no one has a specific mandate. Literally hundreds of the best minds in the profession have been associated directly or indirectly with the Foundation. Its directorship has included many of the leading lay spirits in social work. For the most part the Foundation has not sought to carry the entire load in any of its fields of interest but has generally joined forces with others in cooperative enterprises. The list of its grants (pp. 685-97) to nearly 150 organizations is a key to the development of the private social work field in America for the last half century.

Style, organization, and format are excellent. There is a comprehensive index.

E.F.Y.

**THIRD QUARTER EFFECTIVE LIVING.** *The Individual and Group Relationships.* By the Department of Effective Living, Leo A. Hask, John B. Holland, Lewis K. Zerby, Editorial Committee; East Lansing, Michigan State College, the Basic College. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., Lithoprinters, 1947, pp. 316.

As indicated, this book presents source materials for a particular course. "The over-all aim of this course is to develop social intelligence." The four parts deal with basic concepts: group ideals and methods of control; leadership and specific techniques of group control; blocks to group understanding, prejudice and scapegoating; intelligent participation in groups. The material is well selected and the discussions by the respective authors are well developed. However, the variety of type sizes used (some very small and difficult to read) and the quality of the printing (some letters clear cut, others heavy and very black) detract from the attractiveness of the book and may even hinder its usefulness.

B.A.MCC.

**ENCYCLOPEDIA OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.** OSCAR J. KAPLAN, Editor. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948, 2 vols., pp. xxi+1422.

This splendid and complete work has been prepared for the busy vocational counselor who does not have an extensive library in his office. Besides a careful review of popular tests of achievement, aptitude, and intelligence, considerable information is given concerning the social and economic aspects of particular occupations. Common statistical terms and equations are defined and illustrated to refresh the memories of users. An attempt has been made to include a description of the nature of vocational guidance in a number of foreign countries. Few vocational guidance experts can afford to be without this ready reference to tests, jobs, organizations, bibliography, and related information. It may become a functional supplement to the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*. E.C.M.

**THE STORY OF A COOPERATIVE.** A Brief History of United Cooperative Society of Fitchburg. By Savele Syrjala. Fitchburg, Massachusetts: United Cooperative Society, 1947, pp. 64.

In this excellent case study of a cooperative association, the author tells how the first two cooperative societies in Fitchburg suffered failure because of insufficient capital, lack of cooperative experience, too liberal credit policy, and public lack of knowledge and confidence in consumer cooperation. The third cooperative in Fitchburg succeeded, however, and became the present efficiently managed "United Cooperative Society."

It is interesting that this Society has maintained an extensive emphasis on education. It has held many animated discussion meetings, and it has had many community interests; in fact, it "almost gave Fitchburg a junior college." A remarkable result of this educational procedure is that it has "a membership who understand cooperation" and who are loyal to their society.

The Fitchburg Society has had opponents, but these are persons who have seen in the Society "danger to their selfish interests" or who believe that they have "a God-given right to profiteer on the need of their neighbors," or who are opposed to any movement "which seeks to instill confidence in the people in their ability to organize and meet their own economic needs without profit to anyone." By "common purpose, loyalty, and persistence," the Society has demonstrated that there is "a democratic solution to the problems of modern man." We need more studies of cooperatives like this one. E.S.B.



**THE BEST IS NONE TOO GOOD.** By RALPH G. MARTIN. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1948, pp. 297.

This book of short, provocative sketches is of, by, and for the veteran. Ralph G. Martin, a veteran of *Stars and Stripes* and *Yank*, toured the United States in the year following the war, collecting these stories of both the well-known and the obscure ex-servicemen. There are thirty-two pieces in the book, ranging from the unpleasant to the bright. On the debit side are such episodes as the Hood River, Oregon, action against the Nisei veterans and the Athens, Tennessee, election battle. More pleasant reading are the sketches of the successful Peoria Plan for job placement and the Salt Lake housing cooperative.

Mr. Martin seldom preaches; for the most part the veterans speak for themselves. Perhaps the best sections of the book are the personality profiles of two servicemen who came home and made good: William J. Green, Jr., the liberal "GI Congressman," and Chep Morrison, the fighting reform mayor of New Orleans. The author precludes each chapter with a short, bitter combat scene, thereby tying in the veteran's postwar situation with his earlier war experience. The total effect of the book, however, is that these problems are not so much special veteran's problems as they are part of the larger social and economic problems of the country.

D. W. HAMILTON

**OUTLINE OF THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY.** By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge: The Phillips Book Store, Harvard Square, 1947, pp. 128.

According to the author, this Outline gives "basic hypotheses and suggested readings for the family systems of Western Society." It is believed usable with or without a textbook. It is especially designed for use with *Family and Society* (1935) by Carle C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton or with *Family and Civilization* by Carle C. Zimmerman (1947). There are twenty chapters, beginning with the Greek and Roman family systems and continuing through the various historical periods to that of the "modern atomistic family," including such subjects as "The Social Conscience and Family Future," "The Family as a 'Causal' Agent," "A Study of Good Families," and "The Literate Class and the Present Family System."

Each section includes both expository material and bibliography. The author challenges the idea of Burgess and Locke "that the family is and always has moved just one way, from institution to companionship" as not accurate historically. He contends that the Western family system has moved in different ways since the beginning of the Greek period (ca. 1500

B.C.). The author deprecates using "the idea of 'companionship' as a mask for exaggerated individualism. After individualism goes so far, it results in leaving the social duties of having families and rearing the future generation to too small a proportion of the people." "The main social consequence of the modern family problem is that there exists a lack of sufficient familism in the social system to hold inhumanism down."

The bibliography is extensive and includes both American and foreign sources.

B.A.MCC.

**COOPERATIVE EDUCATION. Fifth Revised Edition. By James Peter Warbasse.** New York: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1947, pp. 32.

Beginning with a summary of nine "Rochdale Methods," the author pointedly and practically discusses such topics as aims of cooperation, cooperative study groups, cooperative leadership, need of cooperative education, and the work of the educational secretary. Pertinent questions for discussion at educational meetings are given. Six programs for members' meetings are offered as guides. Other topics that are treated include classes of cooperative literature, cooperative-minded employees, cooperative recreation, and movies dealing with cooperation.

Dr. Warbasse draws upon his long and careful study of and participation in cooperatives to make scores of valuable suggestions. The style is clear and interesting. If a cooperative will follow the suggestions that are made in this pamphlet it will grow rapidly and achieve lasting stability. It is Dr. Warbasse's major point that "cooperative education should teach the larger purposes and aims of the movement" and not simply how to run a business. Cooperative federations that are up to date "now send out educators instead of salesmen." The cooperative movement is a major antidote for war and builds democratically for peace.

E.S.B.

**BLUE CROSS AND MEDICAL SERVICE PLANS. By Louis S. Reed.** Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, United States Public Health Service, 1947, pp. vii+323.

A genuine service has been rendered by the United States Public Health Service in bringing up to date statistical data on the growth of hospital and medical care plans using the principles of prepayment and distribution of risk. It is pointed out that about 40,000,000 people in the United States, or about one out of every four persons, are enrolled in organizations providing hospital service on an insurance basis. Of these about 16,000,000 were covered for physicians' services in surgical and obstetrical cases, and of that number about 5,000,000 were also covered for physicians' services

for medical cases in hospitals. About 3,700,000 persons were covered for office and home services, most, though not all, of whom were covered for the other services. It is apparent that medical care in the doctor's office has been slow to develop compared with hospitalization and surgery. These figures indicate that even on an insurance basis preventive medicine has made little headway compared with curative medicine. Besides the excellent tables, charts, and descriptions of hospital and medical care plans, the author has been critical of the weaknesses in the economic organization of many of these health groups. This document is important for an understanding of the status of group medicine in the United States today.

E.C.M.

**RICHER BY ASIA.** BY EDMOND TAYLOR. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. 432.

Edmond Taylor, an authority on psychological warfare, went to India in the latter part of the war to supervise OSS activities in southeast Asia and for two years made a serious study of Indian culture, of European imperialism in the East, and of the impact of Eastern ideas upon his own mind. The result is this book of "curious travels and discoveries and adventures in the mind"—an original and deeply penetrating book.

In spite of the title and purpose of his work, Mr. Taylor has written as much about the West as the East. This fact underscores one of his important theses: that the Oriental can give much to the Westerner, not only in ideas peculiar to the East but in helping Western man to discover himself. Mr. Taylor believes that East and West can meet. There is no real conflict, but merely a difference in emphasis, in aptitudes, and in developments, which on both sides have been exaggerated and twisted into the barriers of mass delusions. The revolutions of Asia can be a part of a genuine world progress, provided each side understands the values of the other. We of the West, Mr. Taylor feels, have been most in error. The basic struggle in Asia is the fight for human dignity, and the West has so far failed in not offering Asia the fundamental fifth freedom—Freedom from Contempt.

The battle between capitalistic democracy and communistic totalitarianism is not West versus East, but is a struggle within Western civilization. Standing at the side, as a sort of balancing flywheel, or cultural opposition, is the rich, mystic Orient. Here, Mr. Taylor believes, we can find the solution if we will only look.

The author shifts easily from philosophical speculation to exposition of

his experiences in the East. But the quality of the writing is uniformly high, whether in a description of a Himalayan sunset, a sketch of humanistic, legendary Joe Stilwell, or a sharp analysis of "the pathology of imperialism." On war and peace, on progress, prejudice, and delusion, on the possibilities of one world or no world, Mr. Taylor has a great deal to say and he says it extremely well. He has made an important contribution to the literature of world peace.

D. W. HAMILTON

## SOCIAL FICTION

**RAINTREE COUNTY.** By Ross Lockridge, Jr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948, pp. 1066.

*Raintree County* is a novel of many parts, characterized at times by some beautifully brilliant writing. Romance, historical pageantry, poetic drama, political philosophy, religiously sacred and profane ideologies, as well as some socioeconomic thought and whatever else happened to come into the mind of the author during the six years of its writing may be found within the compass of its thousand pages. In a sense, it is a broad display of the meaning and significance of America by a young American author.

The events of the novel, ranging in point of time from 1844 through 1892, are recited through the recollections of John Wycliff Shawnessy, its hero, on one day, July 4, 1892. This method involves the use of flashbacks, not in any chronological order, but as the scenes happen to emerge from Johnny's mind. Sometimes this device confuses and maddens the reader, but the author has provided a chronology of historical events with bearing on the story of Raintree County, Indiana.

On July 4, 1892, Johnny Shawnessy at the age of fifty-three, still the dreamer and idealist, is celebrating the patriotic holiday with his fellow townsmen of Waycross. Some of the companions of his boyhood are with him—Garwood Jones, now a Senator; Cassius P. Carney, now a financier; and his salty old teacher, Professor Jerusalem Webster Stiles—all somewhat symbolic of an America growing up. Johnny's memories reveal the story of his youthful dreaming, his first, unfortunate marriage, his life as a Civil War soldier in Sherman's Army, his brief excursion into politics, and his brief adventures in Centennial Philadelphia and New York City. All this gives a good chance to tell what was happening in the United States while the hero was growing into American manhood with American hopes and idealism. One of the novel's chief claims for distinction will rest,

perhaps, upon the picture presented of rural Indiana with its folkways and mores, its workaday and pleasure worlds, its revivalist preachers, and its men and women. Raintree County has a meaning for America: "So he would plant again and yet again the legend of Raintree County, the story of a man's days on the breast of the land. So he would plant great farms where the angular reapers walk all day, whole prairies of wheat rising in waves on the headland . . . He would plant cities, clusters of blazing jewels on the dark flesh of the night and faces shining under the glare of the great fires . . ."

The novel is filled with meaning for the American citizen of the present, showing as it does the struggles of the great Republic for realizing the dreams of mankind. "The Republic transcends boundaries, triumphs over space. In America, a man not only possesses his home and his local gods, but he possesses the Republic, which is a denial of tribal boundaries and tribal prejudices. The Republic is the symbol of man's victory over the formless earth. It may be an illusion, but to be human is to accept the human illusions, which were created by centuries of struggle. The Republic is, in Lincoln's phrase, the last, best hope of earth." Not easy reading, but rewarding reading.

M.J.V.

**JUDY'S JOURNEY.** By Lois Lenski. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947, pp. 212.

This novel, written for the junior high school reading level, is a simple and moving story of a migrant family. Perhaps it can best be described as a *Grapes of Wrath* for children. The story is centered around ten-year-old Judy Drummond, whose father gives up Alabama share cropping to follow the crops—beans, cotton, potatoes, sugar beets, and fruits. In their quest for harvest money the Drummonds travel in their battered Ford to Florida and up the Atlantic coast. Little Judy works in the fields with the rest of the family and tries to help her father realize his dream of a few acres and a house with a white fence.

Miss Lenski dramatizes the plight of migrant children with realistic dialogue and illustrations. One of the best scenes occurs when the Drummonds are camped by a lake and Papa Drummond learns that the lake shore is "for cattle and not for humans."

This book is highly effective social fiction and points the way toward a new type of children's literature: books that will teach the social and economic facts of life as well as entertain.

D. W. HAMILTON



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